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MEMOIRS and ADVENTURES

OF

Captain Matthew Phelps;

FORMERLY OF

HARWINGTON IN CONNECTICUT,

NOW RESIDENT IN

NEWHAVEN IN VERMONT.

Particularly in two Voyages,
From Connecticut *to the River* Mississippi,
From December 1773 *to October* 1780.

Heaven from all creatures hides the book of fate,
All but the page prescrib'd their present state.

POPE.

Happy the man who sees a God employ'd
In all the good and ill that chequers life.

COWPER.

Compiled from the original Journal and Minutes kept by Mr. Phelps, during his Voyages and Adventures, and revised and corrected according to his present recollection.

By ANTHONY HASWELL.

From the press of
ANTHONY HASWELL,
OF BENNINGTON, *in Vermont.* 1802.

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TO THE LOVERS OF

BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORY,

THROUGHOUT THE

UNITED STATES IN GENERAL,

And to the Subscribers for the

MEMOIRS *and* ADVENTURES

OF

CAPTAIN MATTHEW PHELPS,

IN PARTICULAR,

This Volume is humbly and gratefully dedicated,

By their devoted Fellow Citizen,

The Compiler.

Friends and Patrons,

IN a country rapidly advancing in its progress to eminence, like that which we have providentially the lot to inhabit, it must be reckoned among the number of the most desirable of things, correctly to inform the mind, to give a right bias to the understanding, and to prevent vicious propensities.

FOR this the sages of our country, while its independence was yet in embryo, wrote, for this the statesman studied, and for this the soldier of freedom conquered.

MOVING in the humblest sphere, yet feeling the influence of this sentiment, and solicitous to contribute his mite to the advancement of the beneficial design; the compiler, with great diffidence, admits the appearance of the annexed Memoirs.

INGENIOUS novels doubtless have their usefulness in society, but where the story is artless, the narrative fact, and the adventurer our neighbor, the entertainment is more rational, and the incidents more interesting.

THIS narrative is meant to relate, free from exaggeration, the vicissitudes of an eventful period, in the life of an American citizen, during which he was thrice reduced from competency to real indigence, yet under the exercise of reason, and resignation to the will of the supreme disposer of events, rose above depression, and progressed the fourth time, to a desirable independence.

THAT its influence on community may be beneficial, and the compiler escape the censure of an indulgent community, is the highest ambition of A. HASWELL.

MEMOIRS AND ADVENTURES

OF

Captain Matthew Phelps.

THERE is perhaps as great advantages reſulting to ſociety, from the publication of the lives of men, eminent for the exerciſe of thoſe virtues and accompliſhments which dignify the juſt and adorn the exemplary, as from any ſpecies of writing extant in the world. And even in the records of a common life, diſtinguiſhed for no very ſingular acts of greatneſs performed by the relater, nor remarkable for any inſtances of providential occurrence, ſtrikingly diverſe from thoſe which form the general lot of man, yet if a true and conciſe hiſtory of thoſe viciſſitudes to which all are more or leſs liable, is judiciouſly ar-

ranged, accompanied with ſeaſonable reflections and a detail of practical improvements; both profit and entertainment may be found in the reſult.

GREAT characters are generally formed by the conſcientious diſplay of propriety of conduct, amidſt the multiplicity of the common events of life; and from viewing the trials of our fellow men, and obſerving their conduct under them, from taking a ſurvey of their mercies and enjoyments, and beholding their diſtreſſes and deliverances, faithfully detailed to us in hiſtory, the mind of the attentive reader, almoſt imperceptibly, imbibes the ſentiment of the adventurer, emulates his virtues, and gains additional fortitude, to combat with its own difficulties. Man from reviewing the exploits of man, learns like the brave to act, the wiſe to think; hence he derives ſupport & is enabled to bear the reverſes of life with equanimity of mind, and by it the religioniſt is led to eye the divine hand, in the operations of nature, a-

midſt all the varying ſcenes of life, and to cheriſh hope in every poſſible dilemma.

UNDER Theſe impreſſions, impelled by the earneſt ſolicitations of numerous friends, and ſuperinduced by the deſire of aſſiſting an induſtrious and ſomewhat needy friend, in the line of his profeſſion, the ſubject of the following narrative has conſented to the compilation of the hiſtory of his early life, and of two voyages made by him from Connecticut to the Miſſiſſippi, with intention of ſettling and reſiding there.

THE whole narrative is taken from the original minutes and journal of Captain Phelps, kept by him during his voyages and travels, and recently corrected and reviſed, according to the beſt of his preſent recollection. He claims no merit from the compoſition, and expects no emolument whatever from the ſale of the work: the world will therefore acquit him from, or rather not impute to him the charge of avarice or oſtentation. That the ſtory may prove conſoling to ſome under the preſſure

of misfortune; that it may be the means of rendering rational gratification to many, and of inducing more to feel what wretches feel, and to drop the tear of sympathy on woes that know no remedy, except the solace of celestial love, is his sincerest wish; and with this wish he cheerfully submits it to its fate.

CHAPTER II.

An account of the adventurer's parentage, birth and early life.—His marriage, & progress in life, until he formed the resolution of making a voyage to the Mississippi.

MATTHEW PHELPS the hero of the ensuing narrative was the son of Lieutenant Samuel Phelps, of the town of Harwington, in the state of Connecticut: His mother's maiden name was Ruth Phelps,

daughter of Mr. Samuel Phelps, of Windsor, in the same state.

It was the pleasure of the supreme disposer of events to take from the hero of our narrative the maternal care of his amiable and respected mother, at too early a period to leave on his mind a lasting impression of her worth, or of his own irreparable loss, as she died when he was only four years of age: nor was he long permited to enjoy the advantages of paternal love, for previous to his attaining his eighth year, his father was likewise summoned to quit the world.

Thus divested of his natural guardians he became the charge of one and of another of his relations, as his necessities required or as their humanity prompted, and to the honor of his relations he now with grateful recollection declares, that he never wanted for a comfortable home, or a decent support among them, during his early childhood or minority. It was perhaps the case however, that from an early imbibed sense of the disadvantages attending the want of

a ſtated home, and from its having a peculiarly operative power on his mind, that before he attained his twentieth year, he married to Miſs Jeruſha, daughter of enſign Abel Phelps of Goſhen.

Mr. Phelps on his ſettling in life began to conſider ſeriouſly upon the moſt prudent, honorable, and beneficial mode of ſupporting himſelf and family, and on the moſt advantageous method within his power to adopt, of providing for his offspring, if Providence ſhould be pleaſed to favor his union with an encreaſe.

With Mrs. Phelps he got but a trifling matter of property, except a decent ſupply of furniture for his houſe, but out of his father's eſtate he received a ſmall capital of about one hundred and fifty pounds, and the reſult of his contemplations, on the ſubject of future proviſion for his family was, that he adjuſted his little concerns at the place of his uſual reſidence, and removed to Norfolk, where he entered into trade in a ſmall way on the money his father left

him, and by application to his buſineſs maintained his family with tolerable decency for ſome time.

Mrs. Phelps proved to be a moſt amiable and agreeable partner, a loving and deſervedly beloved helpmeet in the toils of life, and to the heightening of their mutual affection, ſhe preſented her huſband with a lovely daughter, in about two years from the time of their marriage, and a ſecond endearing pledge in two years after the birth of the firſt.

Thus happily enjoying life, and in the poſſeſſion of treaſures of love equally engaging as tender, Mr. and Mrs. Phelps experienced connubial felicity perhaps ſeldom exceeded on the theatre of common life. But alas! how unſtable are earthly poſſeſſions, how fleeting human joys: Heaven, whoſe councils are inſcrutable, whoſe dealings are founded in infinite wiſdom, and unerring juſtice, ſaw fit to remove from them, in an affecting manner, their youngeſt child by death. The lovely babe was found, a

lifeleſs corpſe, by the ſide of its tender parents, upon their awakening in the morning, having died in the bed, apparently without a ſtruggle, and probably without a groan: the verdict of a jury of inqueſt in the caſe was, that its death was occaſioned by a fit in the night.

THUS the tendereſt object of delight to the eyes of the afflicted parents, having been loaned to them, juſt long enough, as it were, to exhibit its attractive charms in the moſt engaging view, and to rivet their affections to it in the cloſeſt manner, was taken from them without a moment's warning. But happily the impreſſions of early imbibed religion, bowed the minds of the parents, ſubmiſſive to the divine will, and on the death of their infant the ſorrowing pair conſoled themſelves in hope, that the lovely babe was called by mercy's voice to enjoy the preſence of a heavenly parent.

THIS affecting event made ſo laſting an impreſſion on the mind of Mr. Phelps, as ſtill to remain preſent to his view, and

as he frequently relates, often does it occaſion the ſerious contemplation, that God is juſt, that he has a ſacred right to rule, that his paternal care arranges bleſſings and diſpenſes woes, and that it is the indiſpenſible duty of dependent man, never repining but forever praiſing, to know that God is God, and to be ſtill.

Mrs. Phelps had a third child, a ſon, in about two years after the death of her infant, to whom they gave the name of Luman. Soon after the birth of this child Mr. Phelps was ſeized with a dangerous diſeaſe, under which he laboured for a long time, and by which he was brought, apparently, to the very brink of the grave. In the mean time his buſineſs, which required a greater degree of perſonal attention than he was able to beſtow upon it, gradually declined, and occaſioned a degree of anxious ſolicitude about the proſpects of future ſupport for his wife and tender offspring. His diſorder at this time took the appearance of a ſettled conſumption, and his life was for ſome time deſpaired of. In

this ſituation it appeared to Mr. Phelps and his phyſicians, that a ſhort voyage might be beneficial to his health, and after a little conſideration he determined on trying the experiment.

At the time of Mr. Phelps' making this concluſion, there was much talk about the goodneſs of the country near the Miſſiſſippi, and a number of people from Connecticut were preparing to make a voyage thither. Mr. Phelps therefore, having concluded on making a voyage to ſea, was not very long in determining to make the Miſſiſſippi his object; as in caſe of the recovery of his health, and the country anſwering his expectations, he had but little doubt of its being advantageous to him to remove thither with his family.

Having matured the buſineſs in his own mind, he communicated his deſign to Mrs. Phelps, who, ſenſible of the affection of her conſort, not only for herſelf but for her offspring, cheerfully left the reſult to his ſuperior opportunity and abilities, and af-

fectionately engaged to embrace his views, and to acquiesce in his decisions.

In consequence of this agreeable coincidence of views, Mr. Phelps finally determined on visiting the Mississippi, as speedily as possible, to view the country, and to conduct as future circumstances may in his judgment require, with respect to purchasing there, or removing his family, provided he should derive advantage, with respect to his health, from the prosecution of his projected voyage.

CHAPTER III.

Mr. Phelps sets sail for the Mississippi—Singularities recorded on the voyage—Distresses near the Dry Tortugas—Safe arrival at New Orleans.

Mr. Phelps having fully matured his design of immediately proceeding to the

Miſſiſſippi, left Norfolk and proceeded to Newhaven, where he took ſhipping, having engaged a paſſage on board a veſſel commanded by one Captain Porter, of Stonington, with whom Mr. Thomas Fanning then ſailed as mate. In this veſſel they left Newhaven on the 17th of December, 1773, proceeded to Newlondon to obtain a clearance, and left Stonington the laſt day of December.

At this time and place, Mr. Phelps ſays, in his journals, they firſt heard of the deſtruction of the Eaſt India company's tea, from on board the ſhips freighted out by that wealthy corporation, on their own account, and which had then but recently arrived at Boſton: a circumſtance deemed worthy of record only on account of its being made, in the courſe of events, the foundation (at leaſt oſtenſibly ſo) of the revolutionary war, which ſpeedily after enſued, between Great Britain and America, and which, after an eight year's ſcene of blood and ſlaughter, terminated to the honor of the United States, and in the moſt

complete degradation of Great Britain, that ſhe ever experienced : as it eventuated in the diſmemberment of the empire, by freeing the colonies from the arbitrary controul of the mother country, ſo called, and in the erection of an independent ſovreignty, under the denomination of the United States of America.

We now have ſet our hero afloat on the ocean, and ſhall henceforth follow his journal and minutes, as ſpeaking perſonally.

Although from never having croſſed ſalt water before, every thing was new to me, and many occurrences appeared at the time to be well worthy of remark, yet on reviewing my journal at this diſtance of time, and reflecting how common the recital of intereſting events on ſea voyages has of late years become, related by more accompliſhed narrators, and more accurate obſervers than ſo inexperienced a ſailor as myſelf ; I ſhall omit many things, on the firſt part of my journal, and barely relate the progreſs we made at the commence-

ment of our voyage. Suffice it therefore to ſay, that in ſeventeen days after we left Stonington, we made the Abacco Key, or as ſome navigators call it Key Weſt, or the Hole in the Rock; and in a few days after reached New Providence, where we put in to obtain a pilot, the navigation from thence to Cape Florida being eſteemed dangerous, and our Captain, mate and ſeamen being ſomewhat unacquainted in thoſe ſeas.

For two days after we left New Providence we were favoured with pleaſant ſailing and a tolerably fair wind, but after that we lay for four days wind-bound, ſcarcely making a league ahead, the wind for a great part of the time being ſeverely tempeſtuous, and the ſea exhibiting ſcenes, by night and day, calculated to convey to the mind of a young ſailor ſome idea of the hardſhips and dangers of a ſeafaring life.

On the fifth day the tempeſt having ſubſided conſiderably, and the wind coming fair we proceeded, and in croſſing the gulf ſtream took up the wreck of a ſchooner,

laden with Weſt India goods, but having no perſon dead or alive on board of her. This ſchooner it appeared, had beaten in her keel and become a wreck, during the prevalence of the tempeſt, thro' which we lay wind bound: but providentially, as we were afterwards informed, the people at the time of her bilging, eſcaped in their boat, and reached a ſmall rocky iſland in the Gulf, on which they effected a landing, and being diſcovered by our pilot in his return, were by him taken off and conveyed in ſafety to Newprovidence.

In the Gulf of Florida we ſailed in company, for one day, with a veſſel from Connecticut, like our own, and bound as we were, to New Orleans. She was commanded by a Captain Goodrich of Weathersfield. With this veſſel we meant to have ſailed in company, but after keeping with them through the day, we unfortunately parted from them in the courſe of the night following. I mention our ſeperation from Captain Goodrich as an unfortunate circumſtance for us, for the incident was

owing to the miſtake of our navigators, while they by more ſkillful management, as we afterwards found, kept on their courſe without accident, eſcaping the dangers we encountered, and the horrors to which we were ſubjected.

Although ſtriking accounts of ſcenes of danger exhibited on the ſea, are ſo frequently met with in the hiſtory of maratime affairs, as ſcarcely to excite expreſſions of ſurprize at the preſent æra, or occaſion the riſing of thoſe emotions of terror in the landſman's mind, which were wont formerly to be excited, yet I muſt here introduce to the courteous reader an account of incidents that for a ſhort period ſeemed to threaten a final end to my journal, & to the further proſecution of the deſigns of myſelf and ſhipmates, by plunging us altogether into a watery grave.

It was about eleven o'clock, the night after we parted with Captain Goodrich, when we were ſailing under the agreeable preſſure of a four knot breeze, our veſſel

ſuddenly ſtruck upon a reef and remained firmly fixed for one ſea, but was fortunately cleared by the next. On this alarming ſhock all hands were inſtantly upon deck; every heart palpitated with terror, and every countenance exhibited diſmay; at leaſt ſuch was their ſituation in my view, while the collective circumſtances exhibited to my mind a ſcene of horror, of which, till that moment, never did I form any adequate conception,

THERE were forty ſix perſons on board beſides the ſhip's company; all of them totally unuſed to ſuch ſcenes of diſtreſs, and many of them trembling and weeping under the moſt painful apprehenſions; indeed of the paſſengers in general it might truly have been ſaid, that diſmay appeared to fly from face to face, and terror to be flaſhed from eye to eye, while to augment our diſtreſs and anxiety, a violent quarrel commenced between the Captain and mate about the proper method of managing the veſſel, in ſo very unuſual and apparently critical a ſituation.

The occaſion of this quarrel was, that as ſoon as the veſſel cleared the rock, the mate argued, that as the night was dark, our ſituation alarming, the navigation apparently dangerous, and all hands unuſed to the ſeas we were in, it would be prudent to lower the ſails, caſt anchor, and lay too until day light; but the Captain in a peremptory manner refuſed his aſſent. The mate in pathetic terms however, continued to maintain his opinion, adducing every argument the nature of the caſe could warrant, or humanity dictate; dwelling particularly on the circumſtance of there being ſo great a number of lives and ſo much valuable property expoſed; but the Captain after a number of haſty obſervations and paſſionate replies, ſwore by God that he would have no anchor out. In the midſt of this paſſionate rant the veſſel again ſtriking and clearing as before, Mr. Fanning once more calmly, but earneſtly, remonſtrated with the Captain, on the apparently encreaſing perils of our ſituation, the folly of riſking life and property, when by no means impel-

led thereto by any exiſting neceſſity, and the impoſſibility of the veſſel's ſuſtaining many more ſuch ſtrokes as ſhe had already received; but all his arguing was in vain, the Captain remained inflexibly bent upon keeping under way, and in a rage ſwore, that not a rag of ſail ſhould be lowered, or an anchor caſt, let the conſequence be what it would.

In this ſtage of the diſpute however, the veſſel receiving a ſeverer ſhock than any ſhe had experienced before, and providentially again clearing, the Mate reſolutely aſſumed the command of her, ordered the ſails down in a moment, and the anchors out, and forbid any hand or paſſenger on board paying the leaſt attention to the command of the Captain, ſhould he madly order the veſſel under way again before morning; at the ſame time pledging himſelf to the whole company to become perſonally reſponſible for all conſequences, and aſſuring them that he believed ſhipwreck and death would be inevitable, in caſe of inattention to his orders.

Upon receiving theſe welcome orders, the ſails were down and the anchors out in a few minutes, notwithſtanding the unreaſonable paſſion of the Captain, who even foamed with rage, and amidſt his violent ravings ſwore, that he would, immediately on recovering the command of his veſſel, run her into Pennſacola, and ſwear piracy againſt the whole ſhip's company, including every paſſenger on board. All hands, however, viewing life to be immediately at ſtake, conceiving the proceedings of the mate to be founded on propriety, and the paſſion of the Captain to be equally unſuitable as unreaſonable, took their directions fully from the mate alone, and our veſſel happily rode ſafe at her anchorage through the night.

In the morning when we came to ſee our ſituation, we were even more affected with a ſenſe of the dangers from which we had eſcaped, than we had previouſly been during the night; for it was now made evident to us, that in the courſe we were ſteering we ſhould have been in a few mo-

ments precepitated on the dangerous rockey ſhoals called the Dry Tortugaſſes, from which we were then ſcarcely ſix hundred yards diſtant, and even where we lay we were ſurrounded with rocks and ſhoals, to extricate ourſelves from which, without injury to the veſſel, appeared almoſt impracticable.

Upon aſcertaining the perils of our ſituation, we flung out our boat, and after ſome time ſpent in endeavoring to find a ſafe paſſage out from among the ſurrounding difficulties, we at length aſcertained by ſounding, that there was but one paſſage we could poſſibly improve, and even in that we ſhould have but ſix inches ſpare water. It will, perhaps, be ſcarcely worth while to mention, that the paſſion of our Captain had by this time ſubſided, and that on reſuming the command, we by his order wore ſhip immediately, for the paſſage alluded to, and under the favor of divine providence, eſcaped from the perils that had environed us about during the night.

NOTHING further worthy of notice occurred on our paſſage to New Orleans, at which port we arrived in a ſhort time after, our paſſengers in general being in uſual health and good ſpirits, and myſelf in much better ſtate than when I left home. Here having accommodated ourſelves with boats ſuitable to the river navigation, we quitted our veſſel, and ſat out on our progreſs up the Miſſiſſippi, myſelf with ſeveral others deſigning to view the country near the Big Black, a river which falls into the Miſſiſſippi from the Northweſtward, about fifteen leagues above the Natches, or one hundred and twenty leagues above New-Orleans.

South Eastward

CHAPTER IV.

The adventurer's reflections on his voyage and its probable consequences. His progress up the Mississippi. Cordial reception of himself and company by some great land speculators.—He prepares to return to his family.

THE reader will readily conceive that the mind of so young a sailor, or rather so inexperienced an adventurer as myself, must have been greatly agitated at various periods of our voyage. Sometimes I rather regretted the having undertaken so lengthy, so important, and in my view so perilous an enterprize, and often would my heart feel a momentary depression, from the reflection that my wife and tender infants would probably have to endure similar or perhaps superior trouble, should I prosecute my design to effect, and at some future period attempt to remove them to

the Miſſiſſippi. But inſtantly a counter current of thought would recur, from reflecting on its being my indubitable duty to do the beſt I could for the promotion of the temporal intereſt of my family; that while with ſuitable views I followed the beſt dictates of my judgment, I had reaſon to expect the bleſſings of heaven on my exertions; and to relieve my mind the idea would often occur, that ſo perilous a paſſage as we had met with, was perhaps but ſeldom known.

On indulging in this train of thought I always gained additional confidence, and with renewed ſpirits, I was enabled to proceed, and in a few days after our arrival at New Orleans to ſet out on my Miſſiſſippi navigation.

In our progreſs up the Miſſiſſippi we did not encounter any difficulties of conſequence, or meet with any ſingular accident, except that one night while our boats lay at their ſhore faſts, and the people encamped at a ſhort diſtance, a large tree fell

acroſs one of the boats and ſtove her ſo completely to pieces, that the boat with the whole of her lading was completely loſt.

Immediately on reaching the Big Black, the place of our deſtination, I ſat about ſurveying the country as critically as my health would admit and my abilities allow; in order finally to fix my determination, to purchaſe here and attempt, by the permiſſion of providence, the future removal of my family, or ultimately to abandon my deſign, and return home with all convenient expedition.

On making the propoſed inſpection, my determination to remove thither with my family became completely fixed. The ſoil appeared to me to be remarkably good, the ſituation of the place delightful, the eaſe of tranſportation of produce to market very apparent, and the probability of New Orleans forever forming a mart of trade, ſufficient for the country around, ſcarce admitted of a doubt in my mind.

It is true that the reputed unhealthineſs of the climate, compared to that of Connecticut, was a conſideration that ſometimes gave me a conſiderable degree of uneaſineſs; but the ſuperior proſpect of ſoon becoming poſſeſſed of a deſirable competence, the uncertainty there was whether the climate would not agree with our conſtitutions, and above all the reflection that God decrees the lot of all his creatures, ſuiting of his mercies to their various needs, and circumſtances, preponderated over all other conſiderations, and made me determine to purchaſe a ſmall plantation, to return immediately, and by the favor of Heaven to remove my family thither as ſpeedily as poſſible.

I ACCORDINGLY began to put my deſign in execution without delay; I ſecured a tract of land that ſuited me, by paying to a reſident fifty dollars to relinquiſh his poſſeſſion in my favor which by the cuſtom of the country enſured a title to me, and having engaged a man to take care of all affairs in my abſence, and to keep

poſſeſſion until my return, I prepared immediately for my voyage home, and in a few days quitted my new plantation, to reviſit my family, being in a much better ſtate of health than when I left them.

While I was at my new ſettlement, a certain man of the name of John Storrs applied to me for a little aſſiſtance. He had then but lately reached the Big Black, after a tedious route from Virginia, in company with his ſon, a young man of nineteen or twenty years of age: they had expended their laſt ſhilling on the tour, having nothing left them but an axe and a gun, and were then ſo debilitated by the fever and ague as ſcarcely to be able to crawl. Pitying his diſtreſſes I aſſiſted him to ſuch neceſſaries, as my abilities allowed at the time, and as his diſtreſſed circumſtances required, taking the promiſe of father and ſon, in caſe they recovered, to repay me by working on my place; which they faithfully performed in my abſence, and as it ultimately proved, never did charity more cordially return to cheriſh the heart of the

donor, than did the benevolence I beſtowed on this Mr. Storrs and his ſon: but of this in the ſequel.

I SHALL not, I hope be cenſured, for introducing a remark, (rather extorted from me by experience,) that more views than one ſhould be taken of every deſcription of men, rightly to aſcertain their true character. In order to know that of the ſet of men called land ſpeculators, at leaſt two ſituations, viz. a proſperous and diſtreſſed ſtate, if not requiſite to aſcertain, are certainly calculated to place their characters in different colours; at leaſt it appeared ſo to me, as far as my knowledge of them extended. Theſe different ſituations I conceive, are calculated to reverſe their pictures, and exhibit the value of their friendly offers in different points of light.

To illucidate this point a little, it will not, I hope, be deemed altogether unintereſting to introduce a ſhort recital, to which in the advanced part of my journal I have adverted. In doing this I have not the re-

moteſt intention to injure the feelings of any perſon breathing, or to impair the character of any family; my intention being barely to give a ſlight relation of facts, to put future adventurers on their guard, and to teach them circumſpection.

At a place called Ellis's Cliffs, on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, which we paſſed on our way to the Big Black, there then lived one Mr. John E—, who probably from having heard of the purchaſes made by our company, and a rumour of our intended ſettlement, and being a great landholder in thoſe parts, came to ſee us. His manners were eaſy, and his treatment of every one, but particularly, as I was led to conceive, of myſelf; was ſo open and friendly, as to raiſe in my mind the higheſt ideas of his general philanthropy. We talked over with him the hardſhips of our voyage, the tender emotions that the idea of expoſing our wives and children to ſimilar perils occaſioned to ariſe in our minds, and the unavoidable labour and fatigue that firſt ſetlers muſt endure in clearing their farms;

and the converſation of Mr. E—— and his family was at once ſo encouraging and ſo tender, as to animate our hopes and engage our affections deeply.

He expatiated on the general fertility of the ſoil, the agreeable temperature of the climate, the preſent goodneſs of the markets, and the proſpect of their natural encreaſe: He entered on the topic of encouragement due from land holders to firſt ſetlers, the probability of their meeting with it, and the almoſt abſolute certainty there was of their riſing to independence, by a very moderate ſhare of economy and induſtry: in ſhort in the whole of his deportment and converſation, he evinced ſo much feeling and apparent ſympathy, that I concluded he would be, in every exigence, the adventurous farmer's friend, and the ſuffering wanderer's ſure ſupport.

Under theſe pleaſing impreſſions I viſited him at his plantation at the Cliffs, and ſpent ſome time in company with him and one Mr. T—— J——, who was like

himſelf a great land ſpeculator, and who joined with Mr. E——, in propoſing to me various advantages, in caſe of my returning with another company of ſettlers.

THUS I have exhibited one view of the character of theſe gentlemen, drawn from their behaviour to me when fortune did not frown. I was in tolerable circumſtances, and they offered me very great things; I wanted not their aid and they proffered me their friendſhip extenſively: So that after paſſing ſome time with them very agreeably, I left them under a ſtrict engagement to call at the Ellis's Cliffs again, and ſpend ſome with them, if ever providence ſaw fit to order my return: and I really imagined we had reaſon to bleſs the diſpoſer of events, that men ſo benevolently inclined, and ſo abundantly able to relieve the diſtreſſed, and ſtrengthen the hands of the induſtrious ſetler, were providentially ſo advantageouſly ſituated to further ſuch benevolent deſigns.

Upon my quitting this circle of apparent hoſpitality, Mr. E—— and his father and mother, waited on me down to my boat, renewing their ſolicitations, and extorting from me repeated aſſurances, that on my return with my family I would call on them and make their houſe my home, until we ſhould be perfectly recruited, after our propoſed voyage, if providence ever enabled me to proſecute my deſign to effect. And in theſe promiſes I was really ſincere, not doubting, but that let my circumſtances be as they may, I ſhould find a hearty welcome, and meet with every aid that refined ſenſibility could afford.

Alas! how falſe are appearances? I was in no want and they proffered me patronage and aſſiſtance; I appeared in decent circumſtanoes, and they treated me like a friend and a gentleman: But in the courſe of providence, as the ſequel of my journal will diſcloſe, the ſcene was to ſhift, and with the ſhifting of the ſcene, their ideas of patronage, and deſigns of aſſiſtance were to change likewiſe.

CHAP. V.

Mr. Phelps sets out on his return.—Meets several of his former companions at New Orleans.—Is suddenly seized with the fever and ague.—After some difficulty procures a passage to Charleston.—Meets with unexpected benevolence from Mr. Boyd, supercargo of the vessel.—Arrives safe at Charleston.—Engages a passage to Newyork.—Mr. Boyd's disinterested benevolence.

HAVING, as mentioned in the preceeding chapter, adjusted all my little concerns, at my new plantation, I quitted it with intention of teturning immediately home, and without meeting with any occurrence worth mentioning, arrived safe at New Orleans about the 10th of June 1774. On the very day of my arrival here I went on board of a ship to engage a passage, and to my inexpressible joy met with seven of

the companions of my former voyage, who like me having ſettled buſineſs in this quarter to their minds, were ready to return home, to bring their reſpective families to their new plantations, under the pleaſing expectation of thus advancing their intereſts.

After joyful ſalutations and reciprocal friendly enquiries, we ſeverally related our adventures to each other, to mutual entertainment and gratification, and there being no veſſel ready for ſailing, bound to any part of the United States, we took lodgings together that night, and, like long ſeperated friends, ſpent our time in harmony and joy, anticipating many happy future ſcenes, and univerſally determining to proſecute our voyage home, and contemplated return, as ſpeedily as circumſtances would admit.

Alas, how totally ſhort ſighted is man, how incapable of exploring a future period, how abſolutely, "the poor penſioner of an hour," how eſſentially dependent on the

mercies of a moment. The very next day after this joyful meeting, I was ſeverely ſeized with the fever and ague, and in four days time became ſo completely enervated as not to be able to riſe or ſtand alone.

In this diſtreſſed condition I remained twelve days, when by means of medicine taken for the purpoſe, my fits were broken, and although the diſorder had reduced me to the borders of the grave, I reflected on the benefits experienced from my former voyage, and determined upon attempting to return to my family immediately; and my companions being about to engage a paſſage for themſelves on board of a veſſel bound for Charleſtown, South Carolina, commanded by a Captain Young, with whom one Mr. Boyd ſailed as ſupercargo, I ſent by them to engage a paſſage for me in the ſame veſſel, as the idea of being left behind, ſeemed equally intollerable for me to endure, as the moſt violent pangs of my diſorder.

Mr. Boyd was among the number of thoſe in whoſe breaſts Jehovah had been pleaſed to implant the true principles of benevolence ; but the danger of my caſe appeared to him, according to the repreſentation of my old friends and comrades, to be ſo imminent, that he refuſed to receive me on board, fearing that I might ſuffer for want of conveniencies or neceſſary medical aid upon the paſſage, or perhaps die at ſea.

He however, very politely, came to ſee me, evidenced the greateſt humanity in his whole deportment, and endeavoured to encourage me to hope for happier ſcenes ; but finding my unconquerable anxiety and earneſt deſire to return to my family, and the almoſt equal anxiety of being accompanied by my old friends and former ſhipmates,his feelings became ſenſibly intereſted, he pitied me on account of my debility and impatience, and after conſidering all matters tenderly and carefully,he concluded to take me on, and accordingly, with moſt endearing tenderneſs, he conveyed me im-

mediately on board the veſſel in his own boat.

Neither did the benevolence of this worthy man ſtop here, for he procured medicines, cordials and neceſſaries, for my uſe on the voyage, and ſo carefully and beneficently attended to me on my paſſage, that when I reached Charleſtown, my health was in a deſirable degree reſtored, and I was able on my arrival to attend to the buſineſs immediately, of obtaining a paſſage from that port to Newyork.

In this buſineſs we ſoon ſucceeded, and engaged a paſſage on board a veſſel commanded by a Captain Hunt, who had in charge a packet containing the reſult of the conſultations of the ſouthern ſtates, with reſpect to joining their northern brethren in ſupport of their chartered rights, in defence of their liberty and property, againſt the oppreſſive and unconditional demands of Great Britain, then recently announced, by the declaration of their parliament,

that they of right poſſeſſed the power to bind the colonies in all caſes whatſoever.

HAVING thus ſecured a paſſage, I had one important buſineſs to ſettle, viz. to make every return and acknowledgment to my humane benefactor Mr. Boyd, that the ſcope of my abilities would allow; and indeed, from a ſenſe of my incapacity as to the poſſeſſion of adequate ability, or ſufficient pecuniary reſources, I felt great embarraſsment in my mind; but herein I was ſoon relieved, by a new and unexpected diſplay of the genuine philanthropy of his mind, and the tenderneſs of his heart, for on enquiring into the ſtate of my affairs, and finding I was low in caſh, he not only entirely diſmiſſed every idea of compenſation, but preſented me with a few neceſſaries for my new voyage, and gave me two dollars for fear of exigencies; laying me under ſolemn obligation to pay him by relieving the diſtreſſes of any fellow man I may meet with, if providence ſhould be pleaſed to bleſs me with the means, and preſent objects to my view, in the courſe of my paſſage through life.

CHAPTER VI.

Mr. Phelps leaves Charlestown for New-York. Singular accident and happy relief from dangers near Cape Hatteras —Safe arrival at New-York—Sets out for home, and is retarded by sickness at Bridgefield—Humanity of a new friend, recorded in honor to human nature—Safe arrival at home.

IT got to be the fore part of July, before Capt. Hunt was ready to fail for New-York. There were on board our veſſel ſeventy perſons, including paſſengers, and we ſet fail with light hearts, and agreeable contemplations, many of us having been long ſeperated from our families. Our joy was however very ſoon turned into the moſt ſingular anxiety, and apprehenſion, from the circumſtance of a watery grave appearing to moſt of us to be our inevitable deſtiny.

WHEN we left Charleſtown bar, the weather was uncomfortable, the wind was high, and the ſky dark and cloudy. This weather continued for four days after, in all which time we had not been able to take an obſervation. The wind continuing all the time extremely high, we run on at a great rate, till at length bets began to be laid among the ſailors that we ſhould ſee New York light houſe in the courſe of the next night. With theſe pleaſing contemplations we proceeded, until about four o'clock in the afternoon, when our helmſman ſuddenly cried out breakers ahead, which ſounded and reſounded fore and aft in a moment.

UPON this alarm being given, every man's attention was inſtantly turned to the object of our dread, which had by this time become very viſible, and the horrors of which were momently encreaſing, while we were approaching the tremenduous ſcene, under the preſſing impulſe of a nine knot breeze.

THE deck was crowded in an inſtant, and terror was ſeated on every countenance; our fate appeared almoſt inevitable, and a total impoſſibility of calculating where we were, the clouds preventing our taking an obſervation, added to our horror; the white caps as the Sailors called them, ran fearfully high, the ſprays of the breakers, occaſioned by the daſhing of the ſwelling waves againſt the rocks, almoſt reached our veſſel, while the rocks themſelves did not appear to be more than 200 yards diſtant from us, at the time we were enabled to wear ſhip and bear away from the tremendous ſcene of danger.

IMMEDIATELY upon clearing the rocks our ſeamen made the moſt critical obſervation poſſible, as to the occaſion of our riſk, and to decide where we were, and the reſult was that we diſcovered ourſelves to be juſt off Cape Hatteras, inſtead of being near Newyork, and now it was that we firſt perceived that the traverſe of our compaſs was impeded, and that the cauſe of our deception & almoſt of our deſtruction, was a hea-

vy cheſt of blackſmith's tools ſtanding againſt the binnacle, on the removal of which the needle traverſed as uſual.

HAPPY in our very providential eſcape, and in the removal of our dangerous cauſe of deception, we with great joy, and I truſt with many truly grateful hearts, left Cape Hatteras ; and without meeting with any adventure worthy notice, we reached our deſtined port, Newyork in five days after our deliverance at the Cape. Meanwhile my health continued to mend, and my ſpirits to riſe, by the deſirable proſpect augmenting, of being ſpeedily enabled, through the favor of providence to embrace my dear family. In Newyork I made no ſtop, but immediately ſat out by land, on foot for Norfolk, in Connecticut.

THE ways of God are inſcrutible, and the deſtiny of man forever hidden from his own eyes—I was not yet uninterruptedly to enjoy the fruition of my wiſhes, but for a ſhort ſeaſon to endure again the inquietude of anxious hope delayed ; for the next

day I was again seized with the fever and ague, and was obliged to lay by at Ridgefield, to await the issue of my distressful visitation. The mercy of God was however once more strikingly displayed in my present affliction, for I was overtaken with it at the house of a Mr. Stebbins, with whom I had formerly had some acquaintance.

To this worthy friend, as he eventually proved, I related my eventful, and distressing story, at intervals, as my sickness permitted, and God had been pleased to endow his mind with genuine philanthropy, and kindly to attune it to the offices of sympathy and humanity. He attended to my narrative with interesting engagedness, commisserated my variety of distresses, sighed for my misfortunes, and with the tender exertions of his amiable wife and engaging family, did every thing to alleviate my afflictions, both of body and mind; and finding that my anxiety once more to embrace my family, was difficult to alleviate, and distressful to bear, Mr. Stebbins

fat out himſelf on a journey to Goſhen, to inform my brother of my return, and of my very diſtreſſed ſituation; and like my other worthy friend, Mr. Boyd, refuſed to receive any other recompence for his kind attention, and chriſtian like benevolence, except the rich enjoyment of his excellent mind, in contemplating a chriſtian duty ſentimentally diſcharged, and the ſublime felicity of cheriſhing a fellow creature, on whom the hand of Heaven had laid a grievous burthen.

My brother returned with Mr. Stebbins as ſoon as poſſible, and my diſorder having ſomewhat abated, he ſat immediately about the humane buſineſs of conveying me by eaſy ſtages to my family; to whoſe very anxious expectations, and tender embraces, I was returned the firſt of Auguſt, 1774, after an abſence of ſomewhat more than ſeven months, and after experiencing a ſeries of events in ſickneſs and in health, by ſea and land, but rarely to be met with in the records of life, in an equal ſpace of time.

It will perhaps be excuſeable in me here, to ſuggeſt, that the man who has never been ſeperated from all he holds dear, croſſed in his operations for their good, and obſtructed in his deſign of reviſiting them, could poſſibly conceive my preſent felicity. My family appeared more attractive to me by far than I ever remembered them to have done before. My wife in particular, ſeemed more tender, reſpectful and engaging than formerly, and in the midſt of grateful ſenſibility, I almoſt doubted at times, whether the ſcene of bliſs was real or viſionary; to add to my felicity, my wife preſented for my tender embrace, the moſt lovely little daughter that ever my eyes beheld; which was born in about four months after my departure.

Thus was the munificence of providence prepared to huſh my ſorrows and fill my cup with bleſſings; and it only ſeemed to remain for me to be duly ſenſible of the goodneſs of God, and ſuitably to acknowledge the juſtice and mercy of his diſpenſations.

CHAPTER VII.

The adventurer's dilemma about prosecuting his design of removal to the Mississippi—Relinquishes his design and purchases a right of land in Newbury (Vermont,)—Is obstructed in his progress thither by a failure of the Snow—Settles in Westfield (Massachusetts.)--Again attempts to proceed to the Mississippi—Prevention by the ice in Connecticut River—Sails from Middletown for the Mississippi.

THE time had now arrived when the quarrel between Great Britain and the American colonies began to approach a ferious criſis, and an immediate war appeared inevitable. The propriety therefore of removing my family to ſo remote a country, where the probability was that war would be additionally horrid, from the Britiſh, Spaniſh and American intereſts probably jarring, and the Indians being improved by either or each of them, as occa-

ſion may offer. Theſe contemplations and others nearly ſimilar, rendered the buſineſs of removal to the Miſſiſſipi, at that time, an extremely ſerious matter, and deeply engaged the conſideration of myſelf and others.

For myſelf, after arguing the matter pro and con, mentally, for ſome time, I ultimately determined to give up the deſign for the preſent, rather chooſing to riſk the loſs of my property, and ſubmit to the diſappointment of my hopes at the Miſſiſſippi, than to expoſe the lives of a wife, and riſing family, the welfare of whom was apparently dearer to me than my own exiſtence.

Having therefore from imperious neceſſity relinquiſhed my favorite deſign, I reflected what was the next beſt ſtep for me to take, to forward the intereſt of my family; and I at length came to a determination to purchaſe a right of land in the Cohooſe country, ſo called, in the ſtate of Vermont: where, from the reputed goodneſs of the land, the convenience of water carriage, and the wholeſomeneſs of the climate,

great encouragement ſeemed to offer. On theſe accounts, and the low price at which land was offered there, I was induced to cloſe a bargain in January 1775, and I then prepared with all poſſible expedition to put my deſign into immediate execution, viz. to move directly on to my new land, and ſettle down as a Vermont farmer.

With this intention I quitted my reſidence in Connecticut, in February, and with my houſhold furniture and effects got as far as Weſtfield, in the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts. But here the immediate execution of my ſecond deſign was firmly interdicted, by the operations of nature, for the very night we reached Weſtfield, the ſnow went off ſuddenly, and there happening to be no more, or at leaſt none of any conſequence the remainder of the winter, our journeying further was totally prevented. I therefore relinquiſhed my ſecond plan as I had previouſly done my firſt, and there happening to be a ſmall farm then for ſale in the neighborhood which had the appearance of anſwering my end, I bargained for it, and

rather againſt my will became a ſettler in Weſtfield, Maſſachuſetts, inſtead of Newbury in Vermont.

In this new ſituation however, I continued but a very ſhort time, for in the October following, finding myſelf not ſituated to my mind, and perceiving that Mrs. Phelps was equally as diſſatisfied as myſelf, with reſpect to reſidence and future proſpects, if we continued in Weſtfield; I determined to ſell my place immediately.

This deſign I accordingly accompliſhed, and finding that a number of my old acquaintance and former neighbours, had got over their apprehenſions, in a great degree, which they had entertained in common with me, about the conſequences of removal to the Miſſiſſippi; and ſeveral families being abſolutely preparing to embark for Weſt Florida, I converſed freely with Mrs. Phelps on the ſubject, and finding her to be not only willing but anxious to accompany them, I determined once more to

riſk conſequences, and providence permitting, re-viſit the Miſſiſſippi, and my plantation on the Big Black, as ſpeedily as poſſible.

With this deſign I quitted Weſtfield, and in company with a number of the intended emigrants, went to Middletown, in Connecticut, where we chartered a veſſel, commanded by a Captain Eggleſton, on board of which we ſhipped our effects, and determined on the time of embarking our families; but the night previous to the day fixed upon for embarking, Providence interdicted our views, and fruſtrated our intentions, for Connecticut River cloſed over ſuddenly, and was not again open until ſpring, ſo that I was conſtrained to take up my abode, for that winter, among my old friends, at the place of my nativity, viz. at Harwington.

Our deſire of removal ſeemed rather to encreaſe than diminiſh however, by the very frequent interruptions we met with in regard to its execution; and therefore early

in the ſpring we left Harwington, and went to Middletown, to embrace the earlieſt opportunity to proſecute our voyage. At this time there happened to be no veſſel going to Weſt Florida immediately, which induced us to take lodgings for a few weeks, and we were accordingly accommodated, at the houſe of one Captain Gilbert, until a veſſel was ready: and even when that event tranſpired, I felt the placidity of my mind in a great meaſure diſturbed, and my impatience checked, by a new and very ſerious conſideration; Mrs. Phelps was in a delicate ſituation, and the adventuring on ſo long a voyage was thereby rendered peculiarly undeſirable; as the probability was, that with a favorable paſſage we could not expect to be at our journey's end, but a very few days, before ſhe would want ſkilful aid, and the ſociety and attention of kind friends.

The very ſingular compoſure of Mrs. Phelps's mind however, her unſhaken fortitude, and firm reliance on the diſpenſations of a beneficent providence, was a ſo-

lace to my cares; and having been accuſtomed to hope for happier changes, and more propitious turns after my various ſcenes of trial, I ſat ſail from Middletown, upon the firſt of May 1776, and left Saybrook bar upon the fifth, hoping for the favour of providence, and ultimate ſucceſs in the fertile country, towards which our views were once more turned, and on ſucceſs in which the future expectations of myſelf and family ſeemed to be wholly dependent.

CHAPTER VIII.

They leave Saybrook—Are chaced by and get clear of a British sloop of war—Arrival and relief at Newprovidence—At Cape Florida and Cape St. Blas—Mrs. Phelps happily relieved.

THE war between Britain and America now raged violently, and as we had fail-

ed without clearance from any cuſtomhouſe, we were terribly afraid of falling in with the ſhips of force of any nation, but eſpecially of the Britiſh, leſt we might be treated as ſmugglers or pirates.

Scarcely however had we cleared Saybrook bar, when we perceived a large veſſel, which we ſoon diſcovered to be a Britiſh ſloop of war, making for us under a heavy preſs of ſail. On making this unwelcome diſcovery, we immediately hoiſted every yard of canvas we could ſpread, and putting away before the wind, diſtanced our purſuer a little, and by great exertion, the wind all the time favoring us, we kept out of reach of her guns until night when by darkening our lights and ſhifting our courſe we happily eluded her vigilance, and in the morning found that we had loſt ſight of her entirely.

During this chace the whole train of my diſaſters came into my mind, pourtrayed in hedious colouring; but as I perceived no trait of blame, or occaſion for reflec-

tion on myſelf, for having purſued an unadviſeable plan, or adopted an unwarrantable meaſure, I regained a deſirable placidity of mind, amidſt our uncomfortable proſpects, and was enabled calmly to acquieſce in the deciſion, and ſubmit to the diſpoſal of the ſupreme ruler of events; viewing his providence beneficent, operating univerſally and not partially; and conceiving of every thing as being ordered in infinite wiſdom: I attended to the calls of duty with alacrity, reſolving by divine aſſiſtance, to meet every diſpenſation in the preſent inſtance with calmneſs and philoſophy, let the event terminate as it would.

By carefully indulging in this train of reflection, the effects of undue depreſſion, and an unſuitable degree of anticipation of evils, was conſtantly warded off from my mind, and in the preſent inſtance, the happy eſcape from our enemy, and the agreeable circumſtance of being favored with a fair wind, occaſioned a revival of my warmeſt hopes, and my mind obtained renewedly a de-

firable confidence in the diſpoſals of providence.

We now had very little diſtreſs on board except the ſeaſickneſs of our new ſailors, which in ſome of our families was very afflictive, altho' calculated in nature generally, to be of but ſhort duration.

On the firſt of June we lay too, off New Providence, where being much in want of neceſſaries, we ſhould gladly have entered, but were prevented by reaſon of its being a Britiſh port, and our veſſel perfectly deficient in reſpect to papers. We kept our ſtation therefore for ſome time, and at length a pilot came on board to conduct us in. With this man our captain held a conference, and finding him to be an intelligent, and apparently an honeſt man, he made him acquainted with our circumſtances, having previouſly laid him under the obligations of honor not to betray us, and requeſted from him a ſupply, as far as in his power, of ſuch things as we ſtood in need of.

It is with pleasure I mention that this man proved humane, friendly and honorable. He kept our secret faithfully, brought out a pilot to conduct us to Cape Florida, the navigation being difficult, and to add to the weight of our obligation to him, he brought out in his boat a quantity of fresh fruit, and various other articles of which we stood in great need, and supplied us with them upon reasonable terms.

On the 15th of June we anchored off Cape Florida, where we left our pilot. Here we drank water out of the well known by mariners by the name of Hyde's well, and reported to have been dug by the noted pirate Captain Hyde, during the period of his marauding in those seas. We likewise importuned the Captain to permit us to bring the water casks on shore and fill them at this well, but he refused, alledging that it would be useless trouble as we had water enough: but from this imprudent decision of his we afterwards suffered very serious distress.

At Cape Florida we found fifteen or twenty ſmall veſſels, lying in a beautiful little harbor, but on ſhore we found no inhabitants. The veſſels were pilot boats, wreckers, and Turtlers.

Having quitted Cape Florida, and left our pilot there, as before mentioned, we proceeded on our voyage, juſt time enough to ſave our diſtance, and eſcape the enemy; for as we were afterwards informed, in about three hours after our departure a Britiſh cruiſer arrived, who finding the courſe we had taken, took our pilot aboard and purſued us, but the pilot eſcaped from their tyranny, by taking an opportunity to jump overboard and ſwim on ſhore, at night and thus we happily eluded their vigilance.

Soon after quiting Cape Florida we were becalmed, and lay for many days ſcarcely making any way ahead, and from this circumſtance we had great occaſion to regret the overſight of the captain in not obtaining water at Cape Florida, for on the

9th of July our ſupply was ſo ſcanty, that we were put on ſhort allowance, being reſtricted to one quart per day for cooking and every other neceſſary uſe.

In theſe afflictive circumſtances, few who have not experienced ſimilar diſtreſſes, could rightly judge of the weight of our trouble. Our women and children were ſorely oppreſſed by it, and indeed very near periſhing: while to add to my particular weight of care, Mrs. Phelps grew hourly apprehenſive of her ſickneſs coming on, and the time that would put a period to our preſent diſtreſs was known to God alone. I however, in this caſe, as in every other inſtance, received the greateſt ſupport from the ſingular conſtancy of ſpirit, the happy equanimity, and admirable compoſure of mind, of my dear & amiable companion, and our ſufferings for want of water were relieved on the 14th of July, when we made Cape Blaze, as our ſeamen called it, probably Cape St. Blas, on which we landed, dug a well, and obtained a ſupply of water, bu

the place being barren, afforded us no other refreshment whatever.

In ten days after leaving Cape Blaze, I had to encounter the most distressing anxiety, and experience the keenest sensibility, that had yet fallen to my lot, in the course of my eventful progress. Mrs. Phelps was seized with the distress which I had so long both expected and dreaded, and the peculiar inconveniencies of our situation on shipboard, together with her want of many necessaries, and accustomed skilful attendance, occasioned me to endure great purturbations of mind: but by the tender attention and care of her female friends on board, aided by the munificence of Providence, she was comfortably attended and relieved, and made me the joyful father of a desirable son in the Gulf of Mexico, to whom our sailors, from the place of his nativity, gave the name of Atlantic, which Mrs. Phelps and myself likewise adopted.

Upon this long dreaded event terminating thus happily, I past in retrospective

view the ſingular providences of God diſplayed towards me : the remarkable lights and ſhades, mercies, and afflictions with which the ſcene abounded, and the evident predominance of mercy, throughout the whole, when viewed collectively, appeared aſtoniſhing, and I felt ſenſibly impreſſed with the hope that good was yet in ſtore for me, and that the meaſure of my ſufferings in this diſaſtrous voyage was well nigh full. Alas ! little did I think that I had yet, as it were, but barely taſted the chalice of its miſeries, and that I was deſtined ſoon to drain it to its very dregs.

CHAPTER IX.

The adventurer reaches the Big Black.—Disresses of himself and companions, and various seperations on the passage —Buries his daughter Abigail and his son Atlantic.—His reception at the Ellis's Cliffs.—Buries Mrs. Phelps.

ON the 30th of July, being the ſixth day after Mrs. Phelps's joyful delivery, to our inexpreſſible ſatisfaction we made the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi. There was no land in ſight however, and our courſe before entering the mouth was different from that which it was neceſſary to take, in order to ſtrike the Engliſh channel, ſo called.

BEING ſenſible that we were now in the mouth of the river, by obſerving the colour of the water, and other circumſtances, which my former voyage enabled me to remark, I mentioned my conjectures to

the Captain, and requeſted him to order ſome of our water caſks to be filled, from the water along ſide, for fear of being again driven out to ſea, by adverſe winds or ſome other untoward accident. But he laughed at me for my folly, and aſſerted that we were not within a day's ſail of the mouth of the river.

In this opinion of the Captain's I found moſt of the navigators on board who had kept a reckoning, coincided; but at length one of them catching hold of a bucket threw it over to fill, to convince me of my ſuppoſed miſtake, when to their ſurprize they found it much better than any we had on board, although ſomewhat brackiſh.

On making this agreeable diſcovery, we ſhifted our courſe and took in ſome water; ſoon after which we made the Belees or Mud Banks, at the mouth of the Engliſh channel of the Miſſiſſippi, as our ſailors called them, or La Balize, as called by the Spaniards, which are ſeven low iſlands, or

mud banks, on one of which a pilot houſe is erected, from whence they keep a good look out, and generally diſpatch a boat to viſit every veſſel that heaves in ſight. Our veſſel being from thence diſcovered, a pilot came off to conduct us into the channel, and within about five leagues from the ſpot where we took water, we landed on hard ground, at a plantation on the bank of the Miſſiſſippi, where we obtained neceſſary refreſhment after our long toil and fatigue; having effected which we proceeded without further delay to New Orleans.

After recruiting our ſtrength a little at New Orleans, and procuring neceſſary boats, &c. to facilitate our further progreſs, we prepared for our river navigation; an undertaking which proved, as we expected, a work of great toil and fatigue, againſt a ſtiff current and various caſual obſtructions. But the collected impediments that occurred as they reſpected the very difficult navigation, I found to be vaſtly lighter than the ſickneſs and incidental calamities, under which we were deſtined to labour.

HAVING thus made the courteous reader acquainted with the voyage of our company, until its ſeperation became indiſpenſably neceſſary, it may not be amiſs in this place to mention, that although all my fellow paſſengers were originally dear to me, and rendered additionally ſo by a mutual interchange of friendly offices upon the voyage, yet there were among them two families to whom, from peculiar intimacy, I felt more particularly attached.—With theſe families mine had formed one meſs on the paſſage, and with them we embarked in one boat for our intended voyage to the Big Black.

THESE families were Mr. Joſeph Leonard, with a wife and ſix or ſeven children, and Mr. Joſiah Flowers with his wife and one child, both families from Springfield, Maſſachuſetts.

AT the time of our ſetting out from New Orleans Mrs. Flowers was taken ſick, but by cheriſhing her in the beſt manner in our power, we laboured on with her un-

till we reached Point Copee, viz. until the ſixth of September, when her decline and approaching diſſolution became ſo evident, that we were obliged to leave Mr. Flowers and family there, and proceed in our boat without them : And here I am conſtrained to add, Mrs. Flowers died in about a fortnight after.

By recording the mournful incidents of the laſt paragraph, I have ſomewhat anticipated my own regular journal ; I muſt therefore recur back to mention, that we quitted New Orleans on the 18th of Auguſt, and on the 21ſt my eldeſt daughter Ruth was taken with the fever and ague. On the 27th I was taken myſelf, being then at the Manſhack, at which place the Spaniards had poſſeſſion on one ſide that river and the Britiſh on the other, each party occupying a ſmall fort, good neighborhood at that time exiſting between them, as the agitation of the revolutionary war had not yet reached thoſe remote dependencies.

My own attack of the ague proving exceedingly ſevere, and the trouble I endured on account of the diſtreſs of my children and Mrs. Flowers being very great, I at times felt exceedingly diſcouraged; but the ſovereign arbiter of fate was pleaſed to give me needed ſupport, and to enable me to move forward to more diſtreſsful ſcenes, and to the endurance of a vaſtly ſuperior weight of trouble.

On the 3d of September, by having bled freely the day before, I found I had broken my fits, and was enabled to afford my companions a little more aſſiſtance, than I had been capable of doing for a few days previous, in the fatigues of our voyage.

On the 4th. my daughter Abigail, the child born during my former inauſpicious voyage to this quarter, was taken ſo violently, as to engage my attention exceedingly.

On the 6th, my youngeſt ſon, Atlantic and Mrs. Phelps were likewiſe ſeized, and

owing to the ſevere indiſpoſition of its mother, I had but little hopes of the life of the infant.

THIS day paſſing Point Copee, where we left Mr. Flowers and family, as before mentioned, we proceeded on a few leagues in our boat, but on the 7th my other ſon Luman, was ſo violently ſeized, that for me to proceed any further immediately, was morrally impoſſible, and my friend Leonard was obliged to quit us, about five leagues from where we had left Mr. Flowers and family, and procuring neceſſary aſſiſtance, went on in the boat alone; but his progreſs was likewiſe providentially checked at the Natches, where he was obliged to lay by, on account of the ſickneſs of his aimiable wife, and where he buried her, as my friend Flowers had previouſly done his agreeable partner at Point Copee.

IT may not here be improper to obſerve, that the Reverend Mr. Smith, a reſpectable and pious clergyman, from Granville, in the ſtate of Maſſachuſetts, in a

boat with Major Timothy Dwight, a worthy and deſerving character from Northampton, and the aimiable Mrs. Lyman, with her family, relict of General Lyman of Maſſachuſetts, (who accompanied me out in my firſt voyage) having been among the number of our paſſengers, occupied one boat, and paſſed us at Point Copee, when we ſtopped to leave the diſtreſſed Mrs. Flowers, at which time we learned that Mrs. Lyman was likewiſe very ſick.

The Rev. Mr. Smith was among the number of thoſe who dignified the clerical order, he had a wife and large family with him, all reſpected by our whole comany: his character was excellent; he was pious without ſuperſtition, and charitable without oſtentation; he was our adviſer in times of calm, our conſoler in ſeaſons of peril, and his attention to concerns of eternity, was manifeſted at ſuitable opportunities throughout our voyage, to the great comfort of our company in general:—But God whoſe counſels cannot err, ſaw fit to arreſt and call him from terreſtrial ſcenes, in

a few days after his arrival at the Natches. At the ſame place his eſteemed companion Major Lyman likewiſe quitted mortal life, and the amiable Mrs. Lyman ſurvived them only long enough to reach her late huſband's plantation, on the Big Black, and after a few days reſidence there, died, and was buried by the ſide of her deceaſed huſband and ſon.

I REMAINED in the ſituation in which my friend Leonard left me, from the 7th to the 10th of September, when ſome of my family appearing a little recruited, and having put my ſon Atlantic to nurſe, in order to wean him, I proceeded with much labour and fatigue to Captain Mc'Intoſh's about ſeven leagues on my way, but here I was again ſeized with a fever and ague, ſo that we were all incapable of helping ourſelves, except in the intervals between our fits.

IN this very diſtreſſing ſituation we lay without ſenſible alteration, from the 10th

to the 16th, when my daughter Abigail, the child born during my other voyage, as mentioned in the former part of the narrative, and by that incident ſeemingly greatly endeared to me, was removed from us by death, and having no man in company with me, I was obliged to inter her remains the next day, with my own hands, as decently as I could.

On the 18th Ruth and Luman's fever left them, and feeling ſomewhat better myſelf, I went and fetched my ſon Atlantic from the nurſe, determining to put forward again as ſoon as poſſible.

The execution of this deſign was however impeded a few days by the continued ſickneſs of my whole family, and my own increaſing weakneſs.

On the 23d my fever abated, but the encreaſing ſickneſs and dangerous ſtate of my infant prevented my proceeding.

On the 26th, it pleaſed the ſovereign

diſpoſer of events to remove him from me by death; and I once more had to dig the grave, and inter the remains of an infant peculiarly dear to me, by the ſide of his once lovely ſiſter.

Soon after I had performed this melancholly office my friend Flowers, with his child, came on to Capt. M'Intoſh's, in a ſmall boat, and after conſoling me in as friendly a manner as poſſible, and receiving from me reciprocal condolence, he propoſed that we ſhould again unite our efforts, and proceed in a larger boat than his, once more in company.

Almost worn to a ſkeleton by ſickneſs and uncommon fatigue, and deprived of the main ſtay, under providence, of my conſtancy of mind amidſt ſufferings, viz. the innocent ſmiles and prattle of my infant offspring, and the endearing council and animating fortitude of my amiable conſort, by reaſon of her extreme debility; I felt more near to ſinking under the weight of my burthen of ſorrow, apparently, than I

ever recollected to have previously done. But reflecting on all her excellence, and realizing the apparent neceſſity there was of conveying her to a peaceful, comfortable home, I procured a ſuitable boat, concluding to put forward with my friend Flowers, and we accordingly once more embarked, on the firſt of November, although Mrs. Phelps was then perfectly unable to help herſelf, or to afford me the leaſt conſolation or aſſiſtance, except what I derived from her exemplary patience and pious reſignation.

STRUGGLING forward amidſt ſingular adverſity, yet buoyed above the gulf of deſpondency by the prevalence of hope, that in the courſe of providence, brighter ſcenes would ſpeedily ſucceed the preſent gloomy appearances; I exerted every nerve, and improved every poſſible advantage, in order to reach the Ellis's Cliffs, mentioned in the former part of my journals: where under the firmeſt aſſurance of meeting with every aſſiſtance that it was in the power of man to afford, I waited on my old friend

E——, but alas! I was so emaciated by sickness, or impoverished by misfortune, or both, that he did not know me, neither could I engage him, amidst my severe distress, to afford me the least assistance. Quitting this great land speculator and pretended philanthropist therefore, in the severest disgust, we proceeded forward, and the next day reached the Natches.

On the twelfth of November I reached the Petit Gulf, so called, where I was again compelled to let my friend Flowers proceed alone, being once more obliged to lay by; for the dear companion of my early joys, the partner of my choice, and gentle soother of my anxious care, was now apparently approaching swiftly to her dissolution.

Even now the scene is present to my view, and operative on my mind: and ever will be so till the receding traces of recollection evanish from my brain, and nature fails within me: My lovely spouse lived

only until the evening of the fourteenth, when ſhe calmly and with chriſtian reſignation breathed her laſt, evidencing her firm hope of a happy exchange of being, and leaving me no cauſe of mourning but for myſelf.

Once more in honor to humanity I think it a duty incumbent on me to make a pleaſing entry on my journal. At the time of Mrs. Phelps's deceaſe, I was at the plantation of a Mr. Alſton, commonly called Phil. Alſton, where the reſidents poſſeſſed in reality thoſe ſentiments, and practiſed thoſe principles of philanthropy, formerly converſed upon at the Ellis's Cliffs. They did every thing in their power to conſole me, and interred in the moſt decent manner, the mortal part of her, whom I eſteemed lovely in life, and amiable in death.

ELEGIAC MONODY

Inſcribed to the Memory of

Mrs. JERUSHA PHELPS,

At the requeſt of Mr. PHELPS.

Oh! vain is firmneſs! Grief ſuſpends my breath!
And ſwelling ſighs their feeling tribute pay,
Yes, dear Jeruſha, lovely e'en in death,
Remembrance ſtirs, and tears will force their way.

When in the morn of life our cares came on,
How didſt thou ſhare, and ſharing ſoothe my pain,
How true a help-meet! and thy duty done,
And proſpects loſt, how didſt thou riſe again.

Beauteous as good ſhe glad'ned every eye,
But charms of form like meteors fleet away,
Virtue of heart, effulgent from the ſky,
Liv'd in her life, nor ever knew decay.

Virtue, and worth, and dignity, and grace,
Shone in thy conduct, harmoniz'd thy ſoul,

No toil, no terror, kept thee from thy
place,
Each part correct, and unison the whole.

My babes yet spar'd, through thy discern-
ing love,
Their worth, their manners, and attractions
gain'd,
In charms alluring progress and improve,
To virtue tutor'd and from vice restrain'd.

Lamented shade from realms of endless
joy,
Where the dear cherubs we deplor'd re-
side,
Descend, if such may be thy blest employ,
And guard my heart from every worldly
pride.

Father of All, extend thy gracious power,
Forgive my tears, my murmuring thoughts
controul,
Grant me, like her to meet my mortal hour,
To yield my body and resign my soul.

CHAPTER X.

After the interment of his wife, Mr. Phelps proceeds on his voyage.—Stops to recruit his strength at the Grand Gulf.—Arrives at the mouth of the Big Black.—Loses his two children and the whole of his effects in that river.

UPON this melancholly event (the death of Mrs. Phelps) tranſpiring, few of the ſons and daughters of affliction, who have not experienced an equal ſcene of viciſitude, will form an adequate conception of the ſtate of my mind, or conceive an idea of my ſincere and unaffected ſorrow. The world appeared to me almoſt a dreary waſte, and the ſcene of life as if nearly diveſted of all its decorations. She who had been my comforter in every diſtreſs, my councillor in every dilemma, my nurſe in ſickneſs, the ſweetener of my joys in health, was in an affecting manner taken away,

juſt at the cloſe of our diſtreſsful tour, "*And left the world to wretchedness and me.*"

But I was ſupported under it, by him whoſe hand conducted the infliction, and enabled to ſuſtain yet more ſurpriſing, ſolemn and unexpected bereavements; from a participation in which, infinite mercy had ſeen fit to preclude her. But to proceed with my journal.

Feeling impelled by various neceſſities to finiſh my tedious and melancholly voyage, I ſat forward immediately after Mrs. Phelps's interment, for my plantation, and the next day reached the Grand Gulf, where meeting with an old acquaintance who reſided there, I was conſtrained to tarry for a few days to recruit my ſpirits and regain my ſtrength a little, as well as to afford refreſhment to my two dear remaining little ones, who had great need of ſuch a ſolace, after ſo ſevere a ſeries of toil, and to adminiſter to their comfort appeared to me now to be the principal buſineſs of my life.

On the 2d of November I left my kind friends and hoſpitable entertainers at the Grand Gulf, and on the 24th reached the Big Black river, on the banks of which, at a ſmall diſtance from its confluence with the Miſſiſſippi, lay the place I had bargain-for, and paid the advance neceſſary to ſe-cure poſſeſſion.

I was at this time in a ſmall boat, ha-ving with me one Abraham Knap, whom I had hired to aſſiſt me, and a lad of about fourteen years of age; for ſick-neſs and fatigue, had ſo far debilitated me, that I had become totally incapable of pro-ceeding alone. And indeed with their aſ-ſiſtance I was able to proceed but ſlowly, the boy being incapable of managing an oar to good effect againſt the man, and my weakneſs preventing me from working to any conſiderable advantage, in the boat.

In this dilemma therefore, upon mak-ing the mouth of the Big Black, I went on ſhore with the boy, having a long rope to ſerve for a tow line, in our hands, and by

pulling along upon the ſhore, while Knap remained in the boat to ſteer, we made way ſlowly.

The river was at this time extremely high and rapid, and to add to our difficulty, juſt after we had entered it, we came to a large willow tree, which grew nearly horrizontally out from the bank into the river, and the head of the tree being conſiderably emerged in the water, a large quantity of flood traſh had conſequently collected around it, and occaſioned a whirlpool of conſiderable violence to ſet under the body, between the head of the tree and the bank, a ſpace of thirty ſix or forty feet.

Still is this dreadful pool, with all its horrors quite recent to my view, and never can the leaſt trace of it be eraſed from my remembrace, untill the fluid tide of life ſhall ceaſe to flow, and my enfeebled ſenſes quit their frame. When we came to this tree before mentioned, myſelf and the boy were employed as before deſcribed, and Knap was ſteering in the boat. My

lovely ſurviving children, viz. a girl in her tenth, and a boy in the ſixth year of his age, were ſitting on a bed in the bow of the boat, when, ſhocking to relate the boat was ſucked into the whirlpool, that ſat und under the body of the tree, and the ſtern ſunk; Knap perceiving the effect of the pool, and unable to counteract it, jumped overboard, and being a good ſwimmer cleared the head of the tree. I prevented the inſtant ſinking of the boat, by running around a tree with my rope, and making it faſt.

It is not in the power of language to expreſs, or of the human capacity to conceive, an adequate idea of my feelings at this trying moment. I however had the precaution to take a double turn with the rope, around the tree, to faſten the boat ſecurely, and then fled toward it, reflecting on the moſt probable means of extricating my children from their apparently impending fate.

The reſult was I ran out on the tree, and cautioned my daughter to ſit ſtill

in her place, until I had helped her brother on to the tree, to save his life if possible, the length of the boat rendering it necessary for them to venture into the water and come one at a time, as I could not quit my hold on the tree lest we should all perish together, never in the course of my life having been capable of swimming a stroke; I had proceeded so far as to be attempting to put myself in a condition to receive them, when, dreadful to relate, the water gaining greater force, by reason of the additional weight of my body on the trunk of the tree, or from some secret cause in nature, the roots began to give way from the bank.

O WHAT a dreadful scene ensued! the tree was swept away in an instant by the rapid current, the boat broke from her fastening, filled, and turned bottom upwards, while I clung to it for a few moments, and heard my dear babes, for the last time calling daddy, daddy, as supplicating assistance from an earthly parent, when their heavenly father had called them home to him-

ſelf, and bid the rolling billows waft them into peace.

My lovely babes ſank both together to the ſhades of death, while I was preſerved almoſt miraculouſly, by being enabled to ſwim ſeveral rods, a ſkill that I had never before, nor have at any time ſince, been capable of exerting; and what rendered this incident the more remarkable was, that I was enabled to ſwim after having ſunk twice, as my companions related, and as I perfectly well remember, having retained my ſenſes, and powers of reflection through the whole tremendous ſcene.

CHAP. XI.

Mr. Phelps briefly states his feelings on the heavy bereavement he had sustained. —He sends his companions away, by the course of the river, to the Grand Gulf, to obtain assistance, and find the bodies of his drowned babes, if possible.

I NOW viewed myself as being completely stripped of all that had formed the basis of my hapeiness, or given energy to my hopes in life, as far as appertained to family expectations or temporal enjoyment. Immediately upon touching ground with my feet I looked around with anxious solicitude, while divesting myself of my outward garments, that I might fly to the relief of my children, or obtain their bodies if possible. But alas! the lovely babes were gone, forever gone, never more to cheer my widowed heart by their endear-

ing prattle, never more to bleſs my eyes by a diſplay of their engaging lovelineſs.

The whole appeared to me like a moſt horrid terrifying dream, and although all hope of aſſiſting my dear infants, was momently chaſed from my mind, yet ſtill it would recur, and guide my aching eyes in every poſſible direction; but every view was equally obſcure, every conceivable idea of affording them aſſiſtance, or even of regaining their dead bodies, was rendered equally futile.

I aſked the lad who was with me a train of queſtions, as I have reaſon to conceive without regularly attending to his anſwers: I interrogated him with great earneſtneſs over and over again, to obtain every iota of information with reſpect to my dear drowned babes, with as much apparent ſolicitude, according to my preſent conception, as if the reſtoration of my happineſs depended on remembering the little incidents of his melancholly recital. The

afflicted ſympathizing youth could only inform me, that when the boat broke from her ſhore faſt, and filled, he obſerved me to catch hold of her, and that ſhe dragged me a ſhort diſtance and I quitted my hold and ſunk; that in a few moments I roſe and inſtantly ſunk again, on which he gave me over for loſt, but that I almoſt inſtantly roſe the ſecond time, and to his great ſurprize and joy I then ſtruck out, and ſwam for the ſhore. That he likewiſe obſerved the bed on which my dear children were, was drawn into the current, when the boat filled; and ſinking by degrees as it wet, particularly on the ſide on which the children ſat, they ſlipped off into the water, locked in each other's arms, ſtill calling upon me for help, and met their melancholly fate together. He thought he obſerved the hand or foot of one of them, riſe juſt above the ſurface of the water, a moment or two after they ſank, but of this he was not certain, nor could he relate a ſingle circumſtance more.

Before I had extricated myſelf from the water, Knap, who was providentially a good ſwimmer, had reached the ſhore within about thirty rods of the place where he threw himſelf overboard, and was haſtening to my aſſiſtance at the time he perceived me to ſink the ſecond time; but on obſerving that I roſe, and ſwam towards the ſhore, he kept his place on the bank, looking out carefully, in order to afford every poſſible aſſiſtance.

Upon my gaining the bank he came immediately to me, and with the lad ſaid every thing that feeling hearts could ſuggeſt, to alleviate my diſtreſs: I however requeſted them to ſpend no thought on me, but prooceed with all poſſible expedition to the plantation from whence we laſt came, which was but about a league and a half below, to get aſſiſtance, if neceſſary, among my friends there, and find the bodies of the lovely little ones if poſſible. Indeed could I have obtained any thing that once belonged to them, it appeared to me, in the firſt moments of my bereavement, I

ſhould have enjoyed a melancholly but invaluable pleaſure, in contemplating to whom it had once belonged, and reflecting on the early graces of its owner.

SINCERELY pitying my bereaved ſtate, and anxious to do every thing poſſible to adminiſter in the leaſt degree to my comfort or mental ſatisfaction, Knap and the boy, with tender emotions quitted me, to gratify my wiſhes; apparently apprehenſive what the conſequences of leaving me alone might be, and affectionately adviſing me to take all neceſſary care of myſelf, and be as calm as poſſible. And here I muſt again, with gratitude acknowledge, that the merciful diſpoſer of events, buoyed up my mind above deſpondency, and gave me, bleſſed be his name, ſtrength to ſupport my load, and powers of mind ſeperior to diſtraction.

IN the feeling language of the Poet, I was enabled to ſay,

PEACE, peace, my fond fluttering heart,
Unſeemly repining give o'er,

The pleaſures of life muſt depart,
Human beings muſt trouble endure.

In this valley of folly and ſin,
Though delights may embelliſh the way,
They are all, like the joys of an inn,
Too tranſient to court us to ſtay.

My children, my babes, how they grew!
How their welfare engag'd my fond care!
How alter'd, alas! is the view!
O ſhield me my God from deſpair.

My ſpouſe, and my family, all
Have paſt the impervious gloom,
How welcome to me were the call
To cloſe all my woes in the tomb.

Yet let me not ſinfully ſigh,
Or grieve as in proſpect forlorn,
We enter on life when we die:
Death bids an immortal be born.

As the traveller longs for his home,
When his buſineſs is finiſh'd abroad,
O let me not ſenſeleſsly roam,
But with confidence reſt upon God.

CHAPTER XII.

Mr. Phelps sets out to cross the woods, alone and uncloathed.—Being chilled, he is seized with a fit, and incapacitated from proceeding.—Two friends, from the plantation he was steering for, find him and afford him relief.—He gets safe to the plantation, and parts with Knap and the boy.

AS soon as my companions had left me I sat off to go across the woods, the shortest way to the plantation to which I had directed them, being only about a league in distance; but in the agitation of my mind I had neglected to put on my clothes. In this destitute situation therefore I had not proceeded above a mile, when being extremely enervated by sickness, and exhausted by fatigue and strenuous exertions during the late scenes of distress, a most severe fit of the ague came on me, and I

was forced to ſit down, faint and almoſt frozen, by the ſide of a fallen tree, over which I was unable to croſs: and now I ſeriouſly expected nothing leſs, but that on this ſpot the ſcene of human ſufferings would cloſe with me.

I HOWEVER determined to do every thing in my power to invigorate circulation; and rationally concluding that nothing but motion or immediate human aid could preſerve my life, I exerted myſelf to riſe, repeatedly, but my ſtrength failed me, being unable now to ſtand alone.

CONCLUDING from hence that my fate was inevitable, I endeavoured to bring my mind to a calm acquieſcence in my apparently approaching deſtiny, and anticipated the idea, that I ſhould ſoon be re-united, through infinite mercy, to the ſociety of the dear companions of my former joys, and ſharers in my ſorrows, and I addreſſed myſelf, in mental cogitations, to the throne of grace, for pardon and acceptance.

HUMBLING myſelf therefore before the Supreme Diſpoſer of events, I endeavored ſuitably to acknowledge all his goodneſs, the deliverances his mighty arm had wrought in my behalf, the juſtice of my chaſtiſement, and the ſovereign right Jehovah had to deal with all his creatures as ſeemed beſt to his divine preſcience, and in theſe meditations had obtained a deſirable placidity, when I perceived two men coming through the woods towards me, whom I ſoon perceived to be friends from the plantation to which I was endeavouring to ſhape my courſe, when my fit came on, viz. Mr. Ira Whitmore, and Mr. Nathaniel Hull.

WHEN theſe kind friends had thrown ſome of their clothes over me, had chafed my benumbed limbs, and refreſhed me with ſome cordials they had brought, with them, they enquired tenderly into the cauſe of my being in ſuch lamentable circumſtances, alone and diveſted of cloathing, and I made known to them my ſad ſtory, as conciſely and regularly as I could;

after which I begged of them to pay no further attention perſonally to me, for that I was now ſo refreſhed, that I was confident I could reach the plantation without further aid, and it would therefore be the greateſt charity they could exhibit toward me, for them to proceed immediately after Knap and the boy, and aſſiſt them in their attempts to recover, if poſſible, the bodies of my children; of thoſe engaging little ones with whom I had quitted their plantation at the Grand Gulf but the morning of the day before.

They tenderly inſiſted for a while upon not leaving me, urging that the moſt evident duty in the preſent inſtance, muſt be attention to my perſon, and that Knap & the lad would be able to obtain aſſiſtance, and to do every thing in the caſe, that their united efforts could poſſibly effect. Finding however that my anxiety to have them proceed immediately after Knap and the boy, agreeable to my directions, was unconquerable; Finding likewiſe that I was

greatly refreſhed by their timely attention and tenderneſs, and perceiving my confidence, that I could proceed to the plantation without difficulty alone, they left me, agreeably to my wiſhes, and I was enabled to ſtruggle ſucceſsfully againſt impediments, and to get in without further aſſiſtance.

But here, with due defference to ſuch of my readers as may be incredulous with reſpect to ſuch communications, I feel conſtrained to recite a ſingular incident, which at the time made a deep impreſſion on my mind, affecting me with admiration and ſurprize, and which I never ſince have been able ſeriouſly to reflect upon, without ſenſible emotion, from a recollection of the ſingular circumſtances with which it was attended.

When we had all returned in ſafety to the plantation, the family informed me, that the dreams of ſeveral of their number, the night after I left them, had been ſo ſtriking and unuſually diſtreſſing, and withal ſo frequently repeated, that they had ſuffered ve-

ry great anxiety in their minds on my account, fearing that ſome further affliction might have overtaken me. When they aroſe in the morning one related a dream that myſelf and children were deſtroyed by ſome dreadful accident, another that we were drowned, or expoſed to the moſt imminent dangers in the river, a third that he had diſcovered and relieved people in the wilderneſs, when they were juſt on the point of ſtarving or periſhing, and indeed all of them had been more or leſs exerciſed with diſtreſſing ideas, during their night viſions, and had paſſed ſome melancholly periods, agreeable to their mutual relations in the morning.

As theſe dreams were probably occaſioned in part by our having converſed ſo recently on the difficulties of our voyage, which I had related to them in full; ſo their minds were moſt probably tenderly affected with a knowledge of the diſtreſſes I had previouſly endured: but however that may be, the two men whom I have before mentioned, were induced to take ſome lit-

tle matters for refreſhment with them, and ſet out to explore the pathleſs wilderneſs, to ſee if they could be of ſervice to any human being in diſtreſs, and in this philanthropic excurſion, it was the pleaſure of that infinite ſource of munificence, whoſe mercy "tempers the wind to the ſhorn lamb," to direct their ſteps to the obſcure ſpot where I lay ſick and ſuffering, and where I ſhould doubtleſs have terminated my then wretched life, had not the ſecret impulſe of the great allwiſe, conducted them thus ſtrangely to my aid. But this is a digreſſion from my narrative.

KNAP and the lad proceeded on to the plantation, keeping the couſe of the river, and by the aſſiſtance they obtained, took up the boat, which had been drawn into an eddy, and likewiſe a few trifling articles that floated up, but it was not in their power to make any diſcovery of the bodies.

HERE therefore their ſervices to me were at a cloſe, and at this place I parted with them, having nothing left wherewith

to recompence them for their toil; providence having been pleased to divest me of every means of rewarding them for their kindness, or paying them for their labour.

But he who endows virtuous actions with the balsamic quality of proving its own best reward, I humbly trust recompenced their services, and amply repaid their kindness, in the happifying cogitations of their benevolent minds.

CHAPTER XIII.

Mr. Phelps visits his former plantation and finds his title forfeited.—Is assisted by his friend Storrs.—Prospers in husbandry on a new plantation.—The revolutionary war distresses the settlers.

On the 26th of November I parted from my worthy friends at the Grand Gulf, and

with a grateful ſenſe of their friendſhip and favours, proceeded on my journey by land, to the plantation for which I had been ſo long and ſo aſſiduouſly ſtriving, viz. my old ſettlement on the Big Black, where I arrived on the 29th. But even here I found diſtreſs prepared to chaſten me, had not far ſuperior affliction previouſly fallen to my lot, and almoſt wholly engroſſed my attention: for the man to whoſe care I had entruſted my concerns in this quarter, I had the mortification to find, had, during my abſence, baſely deſerted his truſt, ſo that the title to my land had, according to the uſuage of the country, reverted to another, and ſtrangers had become, rightfully as it reſpected them, poſſeſſed of the property in the ſoil which once veſted in me, and conſequently the labour which I had beſtowed on it was rendered of no avail to me, and the money I had paid for the reverſion of the title of the former poſſeſſor, was completely loſt.

And here I am again able to record the hiſtory of a tranſaction, which, as it reflects

honor on the human character, I do with the greateſt pleaſure.

It happened, as mentioned in chapter IV, that when I was formerly at the Big Black, I had befriended a man of the name of John Storrs, who with his ſon were then ſick, and in exceedingly low circumſtances. As ſoon as this man heard of my return he came to me, and in a frank and cordial manner invited me to make his houſe my own, until providence, more propitious to my views, ſhould be pleaſed in the courſe of events to enable me to turn myſelf to advantage.

It being the caſe with me at that time not to poſſeſs whereon to lay my head, the reader will readily conceive, that I received this proffered friendſhip of Storrs without heſitation, and I have the ſatisfaction of recording to the honor of ſo ſincere a friend, that nothing within the reach of his intereſt, opportunity, and abilities, was omitted by him, to render my life perfectly eaſy, to alleviate the diſtreſſes of my mind,

or to afford me consolation under the severe inflictions of providence.

After I had resided at the house of this worthy and grateful friend for a week, he informed me, that by the continued favor of providence, on the unremitting industry of himself and son, he had gained a desirable competency, and was now enabled to live comfortably. That to me as an agent in the hand of God, he held himself indebted for his all. That himself and son had faithfully performed the labour stipulated for at the time I kept them from suffering, as soon after the recovery of their health as they could possibly make it convenient, and that he never should realize the true value of interest in the course of life more sensibly than at present, from its enabling him, to make a return for a debt of gratitude, in some degree, to the very man, who under providence, had saved his life. This he begged it as a favor, I would permit him to do, in as ample a manner as his circumstances would admit, and as my necessities required, and further,

that I ſhould never think of making him compenſation, until it pleaſed God to bleſs the labour of my hands, and enable me to do it without injury, or even without inconvenience to the courſe of my affairs.

He accordingly upon theſe principles, aſſiſted me in procuring a ſettlement, upon which there had previouſly been ſome improvement made, and ſupplied me with a cow, a pair of ſteers, a horſe, neceſſary farming utenſils, and ſeventy dollars worth of ſtore hogs, which he drove on to my place, ſituated within about three quarters of a mile of his own.

Thus being enabled once more to enter into life, in a country luxuriant beyond any other that I had previouſly been acquainted with, I ſo far recovered my health, as to be able to begin to do a little on my place in the month of January 1777, altho' I continued very feeble. Yet, bleſſed be God, my ſpirits never became completely ſunk, deſpondency was never ſuffered to becloud or derange my faculties; as my

health encreaſed therefore, my aſſiduity augmented, and I began to conceive the agreeable idea of doing well through the ſeaſon, but about the beginning of June I was again ſeized with the fever and ague, which continued to diſtreſs me until the firſt of Auguſt.

PROVIDENCE was nevertheleſs propitious to me with reſpect to my crops, and likewiſe with reſpect to the reſtoration of my health ſeaſonably to ſave them; and my drove of hogs likewiſe doing remarkably well, I was enabled, after diſpoſing of my pork, and ſuch other produce as I could conveniently ſpare, to pay my friend Storrs not only for the articles he ſupplied me with, but likewiſe for my board, during the time that neceſſity compelled me to take up my abode at his houſe.

THUS notwithſtanding all my former reverſes, I once more began to realize the proſpect, that if my health was reſtored, and my induſtry obtained a common bleſſing, I ſhould ſoon ſee the time, when by

the divine favor I ſhould again poſſeſs a competency of this world's goods, and having endured much myſelf in the ſchool of adverſity, might be enabled to aid the needy and relieve the diſtreſſed, whenever providence preſented opportunities to my view, and impreſſed my mind with a ſenſe of duty.

But here again I had a ſtriking diſplay of the precarious tenure of human enjoyments, the futility of the ſchemes of man, for on the ſeventh of March, 1778, the diſtreſſes of the revolutionary war began to afflict our remote ſettlements, and on a ſudden put a ſtop to the efforts of honeſt induſtry, and agricultural enterpriſe among us.

The firſt introduction of this diſtreſſing calamity, was communicated to us by the arrival of one James Willing, formerly of Philadelphia, with a ſmall body of American ſoldiers in our quarter.

This man having, as it was reported, run through a handſome intereſt in Phila-

delphia, in a ſeries of gambling, extravagance and debauchery, and being conſequently obliged to apply to his friends for freſh ſupplies, they had, through the influence of Mr. Robert Morris, as it was believed, furniſhed him with a commiſſion in the army, at once to rid themſelves of an incumbrance which they deemed too heavy for them longer to ſuſtain, and to oblige the country to contribute to the ſupport of a ſpendthrift, of whoſe too profligate manners they had become heartily tired.

W—— having thus obtained a commiſſion, and being entruſted with the command of a few men, was ordered into our remote regions, to conciliate the affections of the ſettlers, and check the progreſs of the Britiſh trade, which was then flouriſhing in that quarter.

And here I muſt beg the indulgence of my readers for making a trifling digreſſion, by venturing to remark, that to the villainy of officers on the frontiers or exterior poſſeſſions of a country, the fomenting

and continuance of wars is often owing, and perhaps even the enſuing diſtreſſes of the interior, in a very conſiderable degree. That therefore the greateſt care ſhould be taken, in the ſelection of men, whoſe commands are to lead them to the greateſt diſtance, and who conſequently muſt be at the furtheſt remove from ſeaſonable inſpection, and neceſſary controul.

How far this obſervation appears to be applicable to Willing, at leaſt in my eſtimation, and according to my account of him, the reader will be enabled to decide after peruſing the next chapter.

CHAP. XIV.

Captain Willing's arrival at the Natches. —The inhabitants take an oath of neutrality.—Willing's success in recruiting.—Takes a British armed ship near Manchac.—Plunders the inhabitants.—His party cut off at the Natches.—The inhabitants set up the British standard. —Repair old forts.—A British Captain Jackson arrives to take the command of fort Penmore, at the Natches.—Biographical sketches of the life of Captain Jackson.

AS soon as Willing came into our vicinity he began to sound the disposition of the inhabitants, and to endeavor to engage men for the American service. He had blank commissions with him for subordinate officers, which he filled up as occasion required, and our settlers being well disposed to the American cause, almost universally,

he met with ſo great ſucceſs in recruiting, that in the ſettlements of our vicinity he enliſted about eighty hunters.

This Willing was a man of ingenuity and addreſs, he offered recruits the moſt encouraging terms, and had he poſſeſſed morality and integrity equal to his ſubtlety, he might certainly have rendered the cauſe of liberty eſſential ſervice in the Miſſiſſippi country.

In the addreſſes of Willing to the ſettlers, he plead the cauſe of America with ſuch perſuaſive eloquence, and repreſented the juſtneſs of their warfare, the bravery of their ſoldiers, and the moral certainty of their ultimate ſucceſs, in ſo engaging a point of view; that backing his perſuaſive rhetoric with the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, that five thouſand American troops were on their way to this quarter, to eſtabliſh a territorial boundary and protect the ſettlers againſt the indians, Britons and Spaniards, or any of them, ſhould they dare to make any intruſions, he prevailed on the ſettlers

very generally, to take an oath of ſtrict neutrality, they being, as before obſerved, with very few exceptions, friendly to the cauſe of liberty.

WILLING having enliſted about an hundred men in our vicinity, and commiſſioned officers to command them, proceeded to Manchac, and practiſed his eloquent harrangues and ſpecious pretences there, as he had ſomerly done with us, and with about equal ſucceſs. At this place he, by a ſtratagem, made himſelf maſter of an Engliſh armed ſhip, which he took down to New Orleans, and there ſold to the Spaniards; and (as it was reported and believed among us) ſoon waſted the whole avails, or at leaſt all that he could retain to himſelf, in a ſeries of extravagance and debauchery.

AT length running ſhort of means to ſupport himſelf in his wild career, he began to diſplay the real vileneſs of his character, by the execution of a moſt deteſtable buſineſs. This was no other than going to Manchac, with two ſubalterns, and

about thirty five or forty men, of his original party, where they plundered the honeſt ſettlers without diſtinction ; thus by proving themſelves no better than a banditti of robbers, they did incalculable injury to the American cauſe.

Wealth acquired by plundering, is generally ſquandered with an unthriftineſs and ſpeed equal to the celerity of its acquiſition. This was the caſe with the booty obtained at Manchac ; it laſted the freebooters but a little while, when ſuppoſing the people there to be leſs wealthy, and leſs upon their guard than we were at the Natches, they determined to pay us the ſame compliment they had paid to them, and to enrich themſelves upon our ſpoils.

Having however received timely information of their infamous deſign, we turned out in our own defence, and immediately concerted meaſures for their ſuitable reception. We formed an armed aſſociation of about five hundred men, and de-

termined to ſtand firmly upon the defenſive, let the conſequences be what they would.

In a ſhort time after this aſſociation was formed, agreeably to our information previouſly received, the banditti from near Manchac, arrived in our vicinity, but kept on the other ſide of the river.

Our aſſociated company had taken their ſtand at the landing, where the party muſt neceſſarily croſs, in order to avoid the impetuous current of the river; and with regularity and good order awaited their arrival. At length they appeared, and ſent a flag acroſs which we received in a friendly manner, and held a parley with them, by which we agreed, that if they came as friends we would receive them cordially, if not, we would not permit them to land. That if they meant peace and good neighbourhood, they ſhould fire three guns immediately on the return of the flag, which we would anſwer with an equal number in caſe we inclined to receive them, for that the aſſociated volunteers would not

permit hoſtile operations of any kind at the Natches, without the full and free conſent of the ſettlers ; but on the contrary if any ſuch meaſures were attempted, they would hold themſelves totally abſolved and exonerated from their oaths of neutrality.

After ſome little time had paſt, and they had apparently holden a ſhort conſultation, on our ultimatum conveyed to them by the return of their flag of truce, they advanced to their boat, and agreeably to our wiſhes fired the three guns as propoſed, which in a few moments we anſwered by an equal number, and then conceiving further precaution unneceſſary, we diſmiſſed our aſſociated companies from their military arrangement, and took our ſtations promiſcuouſly, on the bank, to wait the arrival of the American troops, ſuſpecting no deceit, and totally unable, in a regular way to repel an invader, except that our guns were loaded.

This remiſſneſs of ours we ſoon perceived to be ill judged, and to our injury

we found, that no dependence whatever could with safety be placed in the pledged honor of a banditti of villains.

ACCORDING to our expectation, on the signal of peace agreed upon being answered by us, their little corps began to embark; when, as we were afterwards informed, the lieutenant who commanded them, one Harrison, upon taking up a bottle, drank to this sentiment, "*I'll reign king of the Natches hills this night or be in hell.*"

WITH this apparent determination he sat out, and came over, with a company of thirty five men, commanded by himself and one Ellis, who was a subaltern under Willing. Whether he had consulted Ellis and his company on the best mode of conduct for answering his ends, and laid any previous plan for subduing of us, is uncertain; but if he conceived us to be such dastardly paltroons as to fly at their bare appearance, like sheep before a dog, the event proved his fatal mistake, and ended in the complete release of the settlers, in

their own view and the view of juſtice, from their previous oath of neutrality, taken in good faith, and religiouſly obſerved, until perfidy and freebooting was cauſed glaringly to appear to abſolve them.

When this deteſtable banditti had arrived within 300 yards of the ſhore, we diſtinctly heard Harriſon order one Canady, who had formerly been a reſident at the Natches, and who was now among his crew, to load the ſwivel that was in the bow of his boat with ball, and to put in thirty five muſket balls. Not even yet ſuſpecting his daring, villainous and fooliſh intention, however, we ſtill kept our irregular ſituation, ſtanding or ſitting on the banks, until he ordered Canady to fire.

On this we ſtarted, handled our arms, and told Canady he was a dead man in an inſtant if he obeyed, but the villain Harriſon preſenting a piſtol to his head, and threatening to blow his brains out directly, if he did not immediately fire, Canady

complied, and wounded a number of our company.

Upon this murderous buſineſs being proſecuted, we inſtantly returned their fire, irregularly from all quarters, killed Harriſon, Ellis, Canady, and five others, and wounded a number more, their boat being as full of bullet holes as could well be; almoſt every one making ſo ſure of his mark, that perhaps not a man of them would have eſcaped but for their lying down in the bottom of the boat. The ſurvivors, on the boat ſtriking our ſhore, begged for their lives, and were taken priſoners by our party, and ſpared, notwithſtanding their villainous intentions.

This moſt deteſtable buſineſs being thus far ſettled, we held a conſultation upon the preſent unhappy aſpect of our affairs, and the conduct it had now become neceſſary for us to purſue: the reſult of which was, that under the direction of a Britiſh magiſtrate who reſided among us, who ſtill retained his commiſſion, and had not taken

with us the oath of neutrality to the United States, we would form ourſelves into a garriſon, acknowledge ourſelves Britiſh ſubjects, and turn out as univerſally as neceſſary, to protect ourſelves and the ſettlement: the proceedings of the banditti under Willing and Harriſon, having abſolved us from the obligations, under which we had formerly lain.

Having come to this concluſion, we choſe our officers, and became regularly embodied, turning out occaſionally by guards and patrols, to inſpect and defend the ſettlement, viewing our ſituation as conſiderably expoſed. The firſt military operation of conſequence which we performed, was fixing up an old fort at the Natches, called fort Penmore, where we entered on regular garriſon duty, and on the firſt of April we raiſed a corps of volunteers, and marched to the relief of the inhabitants of Manſhac, or Manchac, who were ſtill oppreſſed by the marauding of Willing and the reſidue of his gang, who fled at our approach. Here we repair-

ed another old fort, which we left well garriſoned in a few days after, by a party of aſſociated ſettlers.

THUS were the Americans diveſted of the friendſhip of the ſettlers on this important frontier, by the villainy of this unprincipled little band of wretches; whereas had their affairs been fortunately entruſted to the care of men of principle, inſtead of mere fortune hunters, uſeful friends might have been ſecured, and many valuable lives conſequently ſaved.

THE progreſs of our ſettlements being thus unhappily diſturbed, and the frequency of alarms rendering the uſual courſe of induſtry unproductive, and the ſituation of the farmer on frontiers ſo peculiarly ſituated as ours, dangerous; I determined to quit it and join the garriſon, in ſome ſtation or other, and began to think ſeriouſly what meaſures to adopt, at once to ſerve the public and ſecure myſelf from perſonal loſs. I was however prevented for ſome time, from proſecuting any deſign whatev-

er to effect, being again visited by a slight touch of the fever and ague. Through the goodness of providence, I was soon restored to health, and immediately put my design in execution, of quitting my plantation for the present, and joining the garrison at Fort Penmore.

Here it will be necessary for me perhaps, to make a slight digression, in order to bring my readers to an acquaintance with a new character, who in the succeeding pages of my adventures will be found to fill an important place, and to have a hand in many singular transactions.

The person I mean was one Michael Jackson, with whom I first became acquainted, or rather of whom I first obtained a knowledge, when only in my eighth year, at Harwington in Connecticut. This man came to the house of my father, and soon after his arrival a number of pursuers likewise came, who laid claim to the horse on which Jackson had rode, and secured him as a horse thief.

JACKSON however found means to elude the vigilance of his keepers, and fled from Connecticut to South Carolina, where he followed his old courſe of villainy, and was again taken as a horſe thief, when, to avoid an infamous puniſhment, he enliſted into the American army during the war.

BEING a fellow of conſiderable addreſs, a tolerable ſcholar, and withal an active man, he ſoon obtained a ſergeant's warrant, and was detached on the recruiting ſervice to enliſt men for the army of the United States. This however was too good an opportunity to play the villain, not to be improved by ſo unprincipled a fellow, and accordingly he decamped with the money entruſted to his care, and making his eſcape from the territory of the United States, he applied to Charles Steward, ſuperintendant of Indian affairs, for the Britiſh, from whom he received a warrant to recruit for the Britiſh ſervice, with a promiſe that on his enliſting a company it ſhould be entruſted to his command.

Jackson, as before obſerved, being an artful and plauſible fellow, ſoon collected a company of refugees, and received a commiſſion as captain in the indian department, and was ſent to take the command of fort Penmore at the Natches, until the arrival of Captain M'Gillivray. It ſo happened that Captain M'Gillivray was ſpeedily ordered on command to his old indian ſtation, and thus Jackſon was left to command the fortreſs, in the garriſon of which I had volunteered. By reaſon of my being a New-England man, Jackſon quickly introduced converſation, and by his own account I ſoon recollected him, and remembered his old adventure, as a horſe thief, at my father's houſe, which altho' it by no means prepoſſeſſed me in favor of my commander, I ſtill hoped might in the courſe of events prove in no wiſe detrimental to my intereſt. How it eventually proved, the ſequel of my journal, will inform the reader.

At the time of my entering the fortreſs although I was not deſtitute of property, yet, as I had not an opportunity to turn any

thing into cash, I was hard put to it for that neceſſary article, indeed I had none; but having concluded in my own mind to ſupply the garriſon with ſome neceſſaries, at once to adminiſter to the advancement of my own intereſt, and to the comfort of my fellow ſoldiers, I borrowed a dollar of a Britiſh ſergeant, and having purchaſed the neceſſary ingredients, I brewed a barrel of good beer, and ſold it out at a reaſonable rate, and yet to exceeding good advantage, to the gariſon; encouraged by the ſucceſs of this firſt eſſay, and from my very trifling outſets, I was ſo ſucceſsful, and ſo well reward for my induſtry, that I was enabled by the middle of May, having then been in the fort but a few weeks, to purchaſe and bring up the river, on my own account from Manchac, a pucheon of rum, a puncheon of Molaſſes, a tierce of ſugar, and a barrel of coffee.

On my return to the fort, I regularly enliſted as a corporal and ſuttler for a few months, during which time I followed my ſuttling trade to exceeding good advantage,

and as I had reaſon to think to the univerſal ſatisfaction of both officers and men.

NOTHING of importance tranſpired from the time of my return from Manchac, and enliſtment into the garriſon, as a corporal, until the twentieth of Auguſt; when at the requeſt of Capt. Jackſon, our commanding officer, I went with a ſcouting or reconnoitering party about thirty leagues up the river, paſſing the Grand Gulf about five leagues, but without making any diſcovery on our progreſs up the river. On returning down again, we obſerved from the Petit Gulf, lying on the Spaniſh ſide of the river, three very large floats, and an equal number of large batteaux, from which they had landed a great number of people, ſuppoſed by us to be near a thouſand.

AT beholding this ſight I was much rejoiced, not doubting but that they were the advance of the expected American army, of whom I confidently expected, that the

propriety of their conduct would correct the errors of Willing's banditti, and remove the ſtigma from the character of my countrymen. Faithfully attentive to my duty however, as a Britiſh ſubject, I with all poſſible expedition returned to the fortreſs, to acquaint Captain Jackſon with the diſcovery we had made, and was requeſted by him to return immediately to the party, with a flag of truce, hold a parley with them, if poſſible, whoever they may be, or whatever may be their deſigns, make every obſervation neceſſary, and return to the garriſon as ſpeedily as poſſible with the reſult. As I was exceedingly fatigued, however, from the laborious tour we had juſt compleated, and feeling really unable to undergo the hardſhips of an immediate repetition of my toil. I made a repreſentation of my caſe to the commandant, and at my requeſt the care of the buſineſs was entruſted to another perſon.

The perſon entruſted with this command immediately proceeded up the river, with a flag, and on croſſing over to the

party whom we had discovered, as before mentioned, near the Petit Gulf, found them to be a Col. Gilyar, and a Doctor Farrow, citizens of the United States, and considerable landholders in Manchac, &c. with their dependants, families, and slaves. Those gentlemen related, that having heard of our engagement of neutrality, they had determined to remove with their connections, on to their Mississippi possessions; but on arriving in the vicinity, and finding that we had abandoned our neutrality and had again become British subjects, they were fearful of the consequences of crossing over to the British possessions, with their families and effects, least being defenceless Americans, they may fall a prey to an unexpected enemy. That for this reason they had preferred to keep on the Spanish side, as harmony at present existed between the United States and Spain.

Our flag made them acquainted with the villanies that had been practised upon us, by Willing's party, with the pillaging of Manchac, and with the destruction of the

party under Harrifon and Ellis, at the Natches, by the aſſociated volunteers; engaging at the ſame time to make a juſt and favorable return for them to Captain Jackſon, the commandant at Fort Penmore, who he did not doubt would treat them reſpectfully. This duty the officer of the flag boat faithfully performed, and Captain Jackſon finding them to be inoffenſive ſettlers, immediately diſpatched a ſecond flag to them, with the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, that they ſhould be ſafe in paſſing our fort and ſettlement, and that every neceſſary act of friendſhip ſhould be extended to them, that the ſituation of the garriſon would admit: And under the faith of theſe friendly offers they paſſed fort Penmore the firſt of September.

On the 27th of September I was again ſent up the river to make diſcoveries, if any thing new or intereſting to the garriſon had taken place, but returned without effecting any thing on the fourth of October.

On the 23d I was again ſent on command with a number of batteaux to Manchac, to bring up ſome additional troops for fort Penmore, having liberty from the commandant to bring up any quantity of ſtores for my own benefit, in the public boats; which liberty I improved to good advantage, and found my intereſt handſomely and conſtantly augmenting.

Thus without any ſpecial alteration things went on until the 17th of December, when the time of my enliſtment having paſt, and two months over, I diſpoſed of all my ſtores on hand, and determined to cloſe my accounts with the garriſon, and go down to New Orleans to procure a ſupply of goods for myſelf, to diſpoſe of in the moſt advantageous manner poſſible, either at Manchac, the Natches, or elſewhere, as providence may favour my views. Determining however to keep near the garriſons until tranquility ſhould be reſtored to our ſettlements.

CHAPTER XV.

Captain Jackson's conduct on being informed by Mr. Phelps of his intention to quit the garrison.—Mr. Phelps persisting in his design, Captain Jackson refuses to give him a discharge, and confines him, under a charge of insult to his commander, and of premeditated desertion.

HAVING firmly resolved immediately to quit the fort, on the 25th of December, 1778, I applied to the commandant, and made him acquainted with it, stating that I had served my time of enlistment out, and should be glad to have him attend to a final adjustment of my accounts, as soon as he could make it convenient, and furnish me with a regular discharge from the garrison.

I THOUGHT the commandant treated my application rather singularly, yet as he

was not void of politeneſs in his addreſs at that time, I ſuſpected no intentional injury from him. He however declined acceding to my wiſhes of furniſhing me with an immediate diſcharge; alledging that he did not know how he could ſpare me from the garriſon; that although his wiſhes were by all means to oblige me, and aſſiſt me in the advancement of my intereſt; and howe ver far he was from being capable of forming any deſign to oppoſe my inclination, yet as the garriſon were peculiarly attached to, and accommodated by me, as I was in the way of advancing my intereſt rapidly, and was at all times ſervicable in raiſing recruits, and attending to extra duties, by which the intereſt of the garriſon had been really promoted, he expreſſed his wiſh that I would not inſiſt upon a diſcharge at preſent, nor think of quitting them, if I could poſſibly accommodate my mind to the idea of ſtaying.

Captain Jackſon further ſtated his willingneſs, to releaſe me from all garriſon duty, and conſent to my following my buſineſs

ſolely for the advancement of my own intereſt, drawing pay on my enliſtment as uſual, but that he had much rather not have it ſaid that I had obtained a diſcharge at preſent, as perhaps it might have a bad effect in rendering ſome other members of the garriſon, who were pretty nearly ſimilarly ſituated, uneaſy with their condition.

On reflecting upon this conduct of Captain Jackſon afterwards, I did not much like it, as from the account of him which I have preſented to my reader, it will be eaſily conceived that I had not the moſt exalted opinion of his honor or probity. I could not really perceive how it was in his power to injure me, yet I ſentimentally diſapproved of his mode of reaſoning, and conſequent proceedure. I thought that honor and politeneſs ought to have dictated to him to have granted my requeſt, and then to have urged his friendly remonſtrances, with reſpect to my leaving the garriſon.

Without paying any attention to his requeſt therefore, having fully made up my

mind to quit the fort, I put all my affairs in order, and on the firſt of January 1799, having bought me a boat and hired hands to aſſiſt me down the river to New Orleans, I prepared for immediate departure.

The reader may perhaps blame me for introducing here an occurrence which whether deſigned as a forewarning of danger to me or not, I ſhall not preſume to determine; but of this I am certain, that it put me on my watch, and I believe occaſioned me to meet the ſerpent-like venom with which I was immediately purſued, with greater conſtancy of mind than perhaps I ſhould otherwiſe have done. And indeed ſometimes in the courſe of life, I have thought it right to pay a little attention to the cogitations of the mind, during our hours of ſleep. To dream of ſurrounding danger, of ſeaſonable exertion, and conſequent relief, or of ſinking from fright or want of activity into inextricable difficulty, may put the mind by reflection, into ſuch a frame as to be prepared for exertion ſhould

unfortunate events occur. Yet I am perſuaded that a ſuperſtitious regard to dreams has a tendency at all times to enervate the underſtanding, and miſlead the judgment. A dream I had the night before my difficulty with Captain Jackſon however, continued ſo ſtrongly to impreſs my mind, and after the train of my conſequent ſufferings commenced, ſo frequently appeared to me as diſtantly typical of their malevolence, and ſerpent like venom, that I ſhall preſume to relate it.

I dreamt that in preparing to leave the fortreſs, and its environs, I got on a deſcent of ground, ſtrewed almoſt over with locuſt poles, and other perplexing impediments to my paſſage; where to add to my difficulty, I was attacked by ſnakes of various deſcriptions, the conquering or eluding of the venom of which, was a matter of extreme difficulty and apparent danger. In this ſituation I thought my exertions were rendered the more indiſpenſibly requiſite, from my obſerving a child ſurrounded by the

ſame reptiles, unable to extricate himſelf, and piteouſly imploring my aid.

URGED on forcibly by the combined impulſes of ſelf preſervation and humanity, methought I exerted all my abilities, both of body and mind; and contending with unabating ardour, by the favor of providence eſcaped unhurt from the attacks of the venomous aſſailants.

THE effect this dream had on my mind, if any, was to render me peculiarly attentive to incidents immediately enſuing, circumſpect in my deportment, and watchful to guard againſt the effects of open or ſecret malice.

As from the former behaviour of Captain J. I tho't it would be in vain to apply to him again for an immediate adjuſtment of my affairs, and as I had determined if proſpered, to reviſit the fort again ſoon, let me ſettle where I would, I concluded not to trouble him at preſent about the buſineſs, but leave it to a future opportunity.

As a compliment due to his ſtation however I waited on him, juſt to bid him good bye, when to my utter aſtoniſhment he dropped even the guiſe of politeneſs, or common civility, treated me in the moſt harſh and ungenerous manner, and on my perſiſting upon leaving the fort immediately, he ſwore by God, that I ſhould not go.

"You have," ſays he, "been continually running about ever ſince we have been upon the ground, and have done no kind of duty in the fort." I replied, that I had attended to every kind of duty in the garriſon, and had acted in every grade from a corporal to a ſubaltern, and undergone fatigue at all times cheerfully, as far as it was ſuſtainable by a man of my conſtitution. That his anger and indecency were alike unaccountable to me, for ſo far from aſking a favor of him, I had even deferred inſiſting upon my juſt right. That a diſcharge was in every view at my option and not at his, as I had ſerved now two months more than my enliſtment ſpecified.

That if he impolitely refuſed to give me a written diſcharge, he had nothing but deſpotiſm to plead for endeavoring to prevent my improving a natural right, to judge for myſelf as to the moſt prudent method of advancing my intereſt, and to follow the dictates of my judgment, when and where I pleaſed. This, Sir, ſaid I, is my abſolute right, and I ſhall aſſert it immediately, at all hazards, whether you come to a ſettlement with me or not.

"Damn a ſettlement with you," ſays he, "I'll make no ſettlement with you, except it be by way of a court martial for your inſolence. I'll bring you up with a wet ſail for your impertinence; you ſhall be immediately arraigned before a court martial and broken and whipped, for inſulting your commander, and for intentional deſertion."

Irritated beyond meaſure at his inſolence and injuſtice, I told him to impede my progreſs at his peril; that I would

leave the fort in an inſtant, and had no apprehenſion whatever from his bluſtering, nor fear of any ſort from his threats. I ſhould indeed no further altercate with him, but would apply to his ſuperiors for juſtice; and that in one minute I ſhould quit the fort, never again to return to his command.

Upon this I turned away and proceeded to the gate of the fort the commandant following me, while my mind revolved on the imperiouſneſs of Jackſon, and aſſimilated it to the venom of the ſnakes I had encountered in my ſleep. When I had got to the gate Jackſon ordered the centinel on duty to ſtop me, and calling to the ſergeant of the guard, ordered him to turn out a file of men, to ſecure me in the guard houſe, and at his peril to ſee me forthcoming whenever I ſhould be ordered before a court-martial, which ſhould be holden, with all convenient ſpeed, for the purpoſe of making me an example to the garriſon, for mutinouſly inſulting the commandant, and for premeditated deſertion.

It was impoſſible in the nature of things but that theſe imperious orders of my inſolent oppreſſor ſhould be immediately obeyed; unable therefore to oppoſe him, ſingly and unarmed, I was conſtrained to ſubmit to the execution of his degrading orders, and was for the firſt time in my life conducted as a priſoner to the guard houſe. I was however decently treated by the ſergeants on guard, in their ſucceſſion, as they liberated me from cloſe confinement, taking my parole from day to day: and as I had the ſatisfaction of knowing that the venom of the ſnake (to follow the metaphor of my dream) was exerted towards me without a cauſe, ſo I conſoled myſelf with the idea, that if ever I could have the buſineſs inveſtigated before Jackſon's ſuperiors, I could eaſily prove his villany, and ſhould undoubtedly obtain juſtice in the caſe.

There were at this time four captains in the fort, one of whom and all the ſubalterns except one, being fond of uncontrouled command, approved of the ty-

ranny of Jackſon, exerciſed towards me, and were, I found, firmly reſolved to ſupport him in his wickedneſs; the other two captains, one lieutenant, and by far the greateſt part of the non-commiſſioned officers and ſoldiers were in my favor.

CHAP. XVI.

The adventurer's reflections in his confinement.—He is brought before three lieutenants, ſitting as a court martial, denies their authority, and pleads his right to a general court martial.—He is diſmiſſed from arreſt.—Finds numerous friends ready to aſſiſt him if neceſſary.

DURING this very extraordinary arreſt I could not help reflecting, on the viciſſitudes of life which providence allotted to me the endurance of: I revolved in my mind the principles by which I had been univerſally actuated, and from a conviction

of conſcious rectitude, I experienced the ſincereſt pleaſure, being fully perſuaded that my aim was juſt although in the iſſue many operations had proved unfortunate. I conſoled myſelf therefore, under my preſent oppreſſion, with the reflection, that I had conducted rationally and righteouſly; that at preſent, as through the whole courſe of my adventures, I was under infinite obligation to the diſpoſer of events, and regulator of iſſues, for ſuſtaining my heart, and preſerving my ſpirit from deſpondency, and for keeping me from conducting unworthily in the viciſſitudes alloted to my endurance.

For theſe ineſtimable favours I endeavored to be gratefully thankful, to acknowledge with humility the mercy of the divine ſuperintendant, and to ſeek for wiſdom, calmly and determinately to purſue the paths of rectitude: the reſult of which ſeries of cogitation I felt was, that my mind attained a deſirable ſtability, and my confidence in the juſtice of my cauſe, and conſequent determination to reſiſt my deſ-

potic oppreſſors, became apparently as unſhaken as ſtability itſelf.

On the twelfth of January I was formally ordered from my confinement, and brought before what my enemies were pleaſed to call a court martial. This ſham tribunal, the offspring of millitary intollerance, and no doubt deſigned to terrify me into unconditional ſubmiſſion, was compoſed of the three lieutenants who approved of the tyrannical and improper proceedure of the commandant; of whom my moſt inveterate enemy, of the name of Pentacoſt, was ſeated as preſident. Such was my lot however, that I was conſtrained to ſtand arraigned before this viperous triumvirate, and the preſuming Preſident aſked me, what plea I meant to make to the charges exhibited againſt me, viz. the heinous offences of mutiny and premitated deſertion.

A conſciouſneſs of my innocence, added to what little knowledge I had obtained of military rights, ſupported me at this time, and I replied to the queſtion of Pen-

tacoſt, that my term of enliſtment having long ſince expired, mutiny could not be laid to my charge, as I was not a member of the garriſon, nor ſubject to the controul either of them or the commandant; and that for the ſame reaſon the charge of deſertion could not apply. That I was however willing to be interrogated as to every inſtance of my conduct, from the formation of the garriſon to the preſent hour; but that I ſhould account only to thoſe who were duly conſtituted, and inveſted with authority, to interrogate not only me but my infamous oppreſſors, and to render judgment and award recompence accordingly. That if they were ſuch a body it was a matter utterly unknown to me, and I was therefore under the neceſſity of enquiring by what authority they ſat in thoſe ſeats. They replied, that by virtue of the appointment of the commandant they convened there to try me, according to the uſual mode of courts martial. I rejoined, that they had neither of them, in the preſent inſtance, any more right in thoſe ſeats than my horſe. That I had been guilty of no crime,

and even if I had they could not be erected into a tribunal competent to the buſineſs of taking cognizance of it; for that having acted as a ſubaltern, and done more important duty than all of them put together, I had a moſt undoubted right, if accuſed of any crime, to the benefit of a general court martial. That to the authority of ſuch a court alone I ſhould ſubmit, and that I had no doubt but that, before ſuch a court, I ſhould obtain juſtice even againſt their ſuperior officer.

Upon my making this ſpirited remonſtrance, my enemies appeared conſiderably diſconcerted, and after laying their heads together a few moments, they told me I might leave the court. With this permiſſion I immediately complied, and my pretended judges did not ſo much as order a guard to attend me.

On my way when retiring from court, I met Captain M'Intoſh, who coincided in judgment, and abetted the deſpotiſm of Jackſon. He accoſted me with inſolence,

and told me, that they had determined I ſhould yet be broken and whipped. To this venom of the ſerpent I made no anſwer, but paſſing him with the contempt he deſerved I kept on my way, and was ſoon after met by the two captains who were my friends, and ſeveral of the ſoldiers. The ſoldiers told me it was the determination of a great majority of the garriſon that I ſhould not be injured, even though a general mutiny alone could prevent it, as they very univerſally knew my cauſe to be juſt, and my ſufferings the effect of malice and tyranny.

Although I felt highly gratified and honored by this inſtance of very polite attention, I did not think it by any means expedient, to intereſt the feelings of my friends of the garriſon very intimately, in the cauſe ; I therefore deſired them to inform the ſoldiers univerſally, that it was my particular requeſt that they would by no means do or ſay any thing that might irritate their officers, or bring on themſelves the

imputation of diſreſpect or mutiny, as ſuch conduct might involve them generally in ſerious and diſtreſſing inconveniencies, and by no means render me any eſſential ſervice. But that if affairs were carried to extremity, and contrary to all rational uſage, and law civil or military, they ſhould attempt to whip or otherwiſe puniſh me, I would then thank my friends of the garriſon, of every grade, for their determined intervention, when they perceived me likely to be overcome : As I had moſt ſolemnly and ſeriouſly made up my mind, to die in the cauſe, rather than ſubmit to the unjuſt controul of the infamous Jackſon and his partizans.

CHAPTER XVII.

Mr. Phelps engages a friend to procure him arms and ammunition.—He quits the fort.—Reaches the Byapierre river, & projects the building of a boat.—His progress therein is retarded by the arrival of a party at the Byapierre River, from the fort.—Accounts of various and sudden revolutions in the garrison at fort Penmore.—He returns to the fort.—Very narrowly escapes being taken.—Revolutions in the fort continue.--Jackson's perfidy.—Another narrow escape.—Sets out with a party for the American camp.—Adventures of two days.

SOON after parting with the kind friends mentioned in the latter part of chapter fifteen, I met another confidential friend, whom I engaged to equip my horse for me, and leave him at a place agreed upon, with a good musket, a cartouch box, well sup-

plied with ball cartridges, and a pair of piſtols, with a ſufficiency of powder and ball : I likewiſe requeſted him to procure my ſword for me, of which I had been diveſted on being confined, to leave it for me at the block houſe outſide of the fort, and in the mean time I would take a little refreſhment, preparatory to my intended departure.

ACCORDING to my requeſt my friend procured me every article in the beſt poſſible order, and I took with me the avails of my property, nearly in full, having turned my effects generally into caſh previous to the commencement of Jackſon's unprecedented outrage, and of my equally ſingular arreſt. No obſtruction was offered, and I quitted the fort as I then expected for the laſt time, determining never again to enter it but from conſtraint, unleſs providence ſhould pleaſe to order that I ſhould there attend an inveſtigation of matters, and ſhould open the way in that place for the obtaining of juſtice from my enemies, reſtitution for the loſſes, and ſatisfaction for

the infults and indignities they had forced me to fuftain, with an adjuftment of my accounts which Jackfon had fo villanoufly refufed to attend to.

I HAD proceeded but a fhort diftance from the fort before I met with two of the fubalterns who had fat on my pretended trial, and as this was an event the termination of which may be ferious, I turned my horfe on one fide of the path, faced them, brought my gun to a defenfive pofition, and kept thus prepared until they had paffed me; which however they faw fit to do without offering me any infult, but on the contrary, with paying me the common compliment of good bye, which unmeaning falutation I did not fee caufe to anfwer. After this I rode on without interruption, and free from apprehenfion, yet the roads being bad, I only reached Boyd's Creek, (about thirty miles north of the fort) the next day, and the day after reached the Byapierre River, about fifteen miles further, in the fame direction: Here I engaged

workmen to build me a boat, with all poſſible expedition, deſigning to proceed in her to Penſacola, and obtain redreſs of my accumulated injuries if poſſible.

My troubles however were not yet to end, nor had the malevolence and cauſeleſs enmity of my viperous enemies even reached its height. It was the twelfth of January when I left the fort, and I reached the Byapierre River on the fourteenth: here I immediately begun upon my boat, and was progreſſing rapidly, but after a few day's operation upon her, I received authentic information, that I was proclaimed a deſerter, by the infamous Jackſon, that a party from the fort had arrived in the vicinity in queſt of me, and conſequently that it would be beſt for me to be vigilantly upon my guard to prevent ſurprize.

Immediately upon receiving this unwelcome but ſeaſonable information, I put myſelf into the beſt poſition for reſolute defence, and in a very few hours after a ſergeant and three men came to the place

where I was, attending to the buſineſs of my boat, and advanced within an hundred yards of me. Unwilling to proceed to extremities until I ſhould be fully juſtified by circumſtances, or impelled by the laſt neceſſity, I put myſelf in a defenſive attitude, challenged my purſuers, and demanded their buſineſs and intentions with reſpect to me.

The men appeared friendly and ſeverally pledged their honor not to touch me, as they believed my cauſe to be juſt, and the proclamation of the officers who had ſent them after me, to be the offspring of injuſtice, and the reſult of tyranny : they however aſſured me that I was by no means ſafe in my preſent ſituation, as the rancour of Jackſon and his party was implacable, and parties in various directions were out with orders to take me dead or alive. The ſergeant obſerved that he well knew what the conſequence of a diſobedience of thoſe orders would be, as it reſpected himſelf, ſhould Jackſon retain the command, and the incident of our preſent interview

come to his knowledge ; yet, as he had reaſon to hope that was not the caſe, and as he believed my arreſt would be an act of tyranny and injuſtice, and my death at their hands nothing ſhort of murder, he was determined to leave me unmoleſted and riſk the conſequences : At the ſame time expreſſing a hope, that I would ſoon obtain redreſs from the commandant at Penſacola, not only of my own injuries, but thoſe of the garriſon at fort Penmore.

Relying on their profeſſions of friendſhip, I ſhook hands with them and entertained them cordially as friends; after which they let me know that a ſurpriſing revolution of affairs had taken place and conſtantly agitated the garriſon ſince I quitted it. That the villanous diſpoſition and dark deſigns of Jackſon, begun with me, and extended to others, had raiſed violent parties, which Jackſon endeavouring to ſubdue by brutal force, had ſo irritated my old friends Capt. Lyman and Capt. Hutchins, that having ſecured the confidence of the greateſt part of the garriſon, Capt.

Lyman assumed the command of the fort, and issued an order of arrest against Jackson and his associate officers.

That the humanity of Captain Lyman had however induced him to permit the arrested officers to remain prisoners at large on parole, with the privilege of retaining their side arms, until a statement of all affairs could be made out to dispatch with them to Penfacola: but that a night or two after this generous permission was granted, and before the requisite statement could be made, Jackson, with a party of his adherents secured the centries, beat suddenly to arms in the night, overpowered Lyman's party, regained possession of the fort, confined Captain Lyman in his own house, placing two centinels at his door, and sent off Captain Hutchins, to Penfacola, to be there tried on a charge of mutiny.

That the despot Jackson, finding his conduct towards me, had been the principal stimulous to Captain Lyman's resentment, and that of the whole party, and

moſt probably being fearful that my arrival at Penſacola may ruin him, had immediately on regaining the command, diſpatched parties in different directions in purſuit of me, with promiſe of great reward for apprehending and returning me to the fort, or for aſcertaining to the ſatisfaction of the commandant, that I had been killed in the attempt to take me.

THAT they had determined not to injure me, on their firſt ſetting out, and had been the more firmly fixed in that determination, by the circumſtance of ſeeing a perſon of information the day before, who informed them, that in a few hours after they left the fort, Captain Lyman found means to eſcape from his confinement, ſhewed himſelf to the garriſon, and claimed the command as his right; that much the greateſt part of the garriſon had declared for him, and he regained the command without bloodſhed, after making an agreement with Jackſon and his aſſociate officers, that they may remain, diſarmed, and ſubject to his command, in the fort, 'till the pleaſure of their

ſuperiors, at Penſacola could be known, or may retire from the fort, and live peaceably until diſpatches from thence on the ſubject ſhould arrive.

That Jackſon and his party chuſing to retire, were allowed by Captain Lyman the poſſeſſion of their ſide arms, and being ſoon after joined by about thirty privates, who had eluded the vigilance of Captain Lyman, and deſerted from the fort, during the agitation of theſe ſwiftly ſucceeding ſcenes, Jackſon, with their aid, took poſſeſſion of ſome ammunition and artillery that was out ſide of the fort, at the outer guard houſe, and had ſecured themſelves at the landing, about half a mile from the fort, where they kept regular guard, and declared they would try by court martial and whip every ſoldier they caught out of the fort, who would not join their party.

Thus in the courſe of a few days the Britiſh intereſt at the Natches became completely deſtroyed, the moſt important concern of each party being to guard vigilant-

ly againſt the ſubtlety and power of the other.

HAVING as critically as poſſible aſcertained the validity of theſe accounts, I began ſeriouſly to conſider the peril of my preſent ſituation. My boat had been begun but a few days and could not be finiſhed for ſome time; my enemies were implacable, and capable of every poſſible degree of baſeneſs or cruelty, as I apprehended; and I was moreover induced to vigilance in effecting a ſpeedy eſcape from the confines of their power, as I had no doubt they would urge their myrmidons to murder me if poſſible.

I HESITATED but a few hours in making a determinarion what courſe to take; when diſmiſſing the workman from further preſent attention to my boat, I took my horſe, and on the 24th of January again returned to the fort, and claimed the protection of Captain Lyman, (who I found in poſſeſſion of the fort) until ſuch time

as I could ſend to Penſacola, and get our ſtrange diviſions adjuſted.

The next night after my arrival at the fort, I rode out about three miles to ſee a friend, and to do a little buſineſs: but I perceived here to that my enemies were exceedingly alert, and would ſpare no pains to effect their malicious deſigns with reſpect to me: for the night after I left the fort, their patrols were out in ſearch after me, from their poſt at the landing: they even found out to what particular houſe I had had occaſion to go, patroled around it until day break, and then entered and ſearched it very carefully; but happily I viſited my friends in the night and returned to the fort again before daylight; thus defeating their malicious deſigns, and ſecuring my life for that time.

Our enemies being reſtleſs in their ſituation, and knowing that ſomething muſt be done without delay, as their finances were very low, and their reſources ex-

tremely precarious, or indeed being totally deſtitute of thoſe of a pecuniary ſort while ſhut out from the garriſon, now projected and executed a plan which, at the firſt look ſeemed threatening to us, as being in appearance calculated to end in our complete overthrow. This was no other than ſending runners to the neighbouring indian tribes, who were in treaty with the Engliſh, to inform them, that the rebels (as the Britiſh termed the Americans) had got poſſeſſion of fort Penmore, and unleſs the indians without the leaſt delay, joined their efforts to thoſe of the few Britiſh troops who had poſſeſſion of a ſmall breaſt work at the landing, their towns would be deſtroyed, and their country ravaged, perhaps in a day, or even an hour's time.

THIS was a deep laid ſcheme, and our little garriſon was thrown into conſternation by it, for on the ſecond day after we were informed of it, we perceived our enemies were joined by about five hundred Chactaw warriors, immediately on the arrival of whom, the party under Jackſon turned

their artillery and exultingly fired into the fort with grape ſhot, hoping to bring us to ſubmiſſion on their own terms. Providentially however, the head men of the indians were obſerving and inquiſitive; though the exertion had been great, and the ſurprize of the indians equal to their exertions, yet perceiving the ſame colours flying, and the ſame uniform worn in and out of the fort, they aſked ſuch queſtions as ſoon gave them a tolerable knowledge of the ſtate of our affairs. They therefore began to check Jackſon's party for firing, enquiring what they meant or expected to gain by it; obſerving, that they did not act like indians, but like bād men, old women and ſilly children, in quarrelling without a cauſe, and fighting without a proſpect of national advantage. That is ſuch a caſe indians would not lift the hatchet, and accordingly the warriors quitted their party.

Immediately on this event's tranſpiring, the principal indian chief and three or four others ſhewed themſelves to our centinels, and by ſigns claimed admiſſion into

the fort. Without hesitation their request was granted, as soon as it was made known to the commandant, and on their making the enquiry, Captain Lyman, in a few words, and in the most friendly manner explained to them, the origin and progress of our difficulties, and the villainy of our opponents; and the indian chief was so well convinced of his honor and integrity, as well as of the justice of our cause, that he gave us the firmest assurances of his friendship, accepted of some little tokens of mutual respect from us, and immediately on his return to the warriors, they quitted the ground and went immediately home.

After the indians were gone, the villanous Jackson and his party sent a flag up to the fort, proposing to hold a parley, for the accommodation of all the difficulties existing between us; and as our affairs were intricate and perplexing, and Captain Lyman was anxious that his conduct should not only be just, but that it should appear so, to whoever may ultimately have the settlement of the business entrusted to

them, was induced to liſten to their requeſt: and accordingly Captain Lyman, Lieutenant Carter and myſelf, repaired to the place appointed, taking every neceſſary precaution to prevent ſurprize, where we held a conference with three of them.

THE reſult of this buſineſs was, that an agreement was formed to the following effect. That every thing diſagreeable ſhould be laid entirely aſide, until an adjuſtment could take place, according to the arrangments that may be made, by our ſuperior officers at Penſacola; to the commandant at which place, it was further agreed, a full ſtatement ſhould be made, of all difficulties then or formerly exiſting: which ſtatement ſhould be immediately drawn up, mutually agreed to in full, ſigned by each party at this treaty, and forwarded with all convenient ſpeed.

THAT the whole party, myſelf included, ſhould return to the fort, and harmoniouſly ſubmit to the command of captain Lyman,

and that at roll call that night, the commandant ſhould make known the articles of agreement, to the aſſembled and united garriſon.

In the whole of this tranſaction I ſuſpected them of perfidy, and placed very little dependence on their pledge of honor: but captain Lyman having greater confidence in Jackſon and his party than I had, and Lieutenant Carter ſeeming to be convinced that it was the only way to bring our quarrels to a cloſe, I acceded, and thus the inſidious reptiles obtained a footing among us, and the repreſentation agreed on was diſpatched to Penſacola immediately.

It providentially happened that I had ſome buſineſs to tranſact, at a ſmall diſtance from the fort, and accordingly lodged out of it, the night but one after the day of our accommodation: and happy was it for me that I did ſo, for toward morning I was awakened at the place where I had gone upon buſineſs, by a ſud-

den call, and on opening my eyes perceived a ſoldier ſtanding at my bed ſide, who informed me, that he had been ſecretly, and at the riſk of his life diſpatched to me by captain Lyman, to inform me that it was requiſite to take the moſt ſeaſonable and immediate care of myſelf, for that the villain Jackſon, agreeably to my fears, had raiſed a new mutiny in the garriſon, beaten to arms in the night, on the night I left the fort, and had reaſſumed the command, and confined him once more in the block houſe as a cloſe priſoner, under the guard of a ſergeant and ſix men. That the daring villain Jackſon looking on the quarrel he had fomented with me as a black implication againſt him, had diſpatched a ſergeant, with ſix of his moſt deſperate partizans, with orders to take me, dead or alive, but no doubt with hopes that I ſhould be killed in the iſſue.

In this critical and ſtrangely fluctuating ſituation of affairs, I deliberated but a ſhort time what courſe to take. I had become acquainted with the circumſtance that an

American ſpy, from a detachment of the continental army commanded by a general or Col. Clark, then on the Miſſiſſippi, and lying with his troops, as it was currently reported and believed, a ſmall diſtance above the Natches, had been in our vicinity for ſome days, and that he had ſet off but the day before to return to his boat and proceed up the river to the American camp, with the intelligence he had collected, relative to the ſituation of our fort and dependencies.

I FOUND means to communicate to my friends in the fort, my information on the ſubject, and likewiſe that I intended to follow the ſpy, and proceed in his boat, if practicable, to join the American party, or obtain their protection until the affairs of our quarter ſhould become more ſettled than at preſent. By return of my meſſenger I received information that ſix of them would leave the fort that night, and join me at a certain place, agreed on, and that ſix others would take the ſame

route and wait for us at a certain place farther on in our intended courſe.

According to this appointment my friends of the firſt party joined me the next morning at the place agreed on, and we proceeded in company, as ſpeedily as convenient, to the ſecond rallying point, where we expected to meet our other friends, but in this expectation we were diſappointed, as they were not there, neither was there any perceptible marks of their having been there.

This diappointment was not a little perplexing to us all, but by no means thinking it ſafe to make a halt, from a thorough knowledge of the daring ſpirit and rancour of our opponents, we left ſecret tokens agreed upon previouſly, to direct our friends in caſe they ſhould live to come to the place, and with great exertion and fatigue travelled on about twenty miles further, when we halted for the night, on a ſequeſtered ſpot, a little on one ſide of a ſmall indian patch.

After taking a little refreſhment we prepared for repoſe, keeping two centinels awake for the ſafety of our company, and for the purpoſe of keeping a little fire, and paſſed the night in tolerable compoſure, only that in the courſe of it we were once alarmed with the appearance of a phenomenon for which none of our little company had philoſophy enough to account, even to their own ſatisfaction. The circumſtances of the caſe were theſe.

It was about ſeven o'clock when we took up our camp for the night, and as near as I could calculate it was a little over half the period of our third relief, of two hours each, or between twelve and one o'clock, at night, when our centinels awakened us with the information that a ſhort time before they perceived a bright light to ſpring up, at a ſhort diſtance on the other ſide of the little indian path before mentioned, which they had obſerved ſometimes to encreaſe and ſometimes to diminiſh, but generally to preſerve the ſame appearance which it then did.

On receiving this intelligence we all got up, and after making the moſt critical obſervation we could, from our ſituation, we came to the concluſion, that it muſt in human probability be a party of indian warriors or hunters, a party from the fort in purſuit after us, or our friends whom we expected from the fort, following our route, according to the ſecret tokens we had left. To aſcertain which of the three deſcriptions applied to them, appeared to be a deſireable buſineſs to us all, yet by ſome means it ſeemed to be the wiſh of the whole company, myſelf excepted, to leave the inveſtigation of the buſineſs until the morning. In a word there appeared to be an uncommon reluctance prevalent in our little ſquad, to admit of any ſeperation, as the place we were in was eſteemed a good one in caſe of unexpected attack.

Not fully according with them in ſentiment however, and being unable to bear a ſtate of anxious ſuſpence, I took my muſket and piſtols, and having agreed upon an arrangement of our little force, in caſe of

neceſſity, as well as upon the ſignal to be given, in caſe I wiſhed for their advance, or thought their aſſiſtance indiſpenſibly neceſſary, ſomething againſt their wiſhes I ſat out, to make what diſcoveries I could in the buſineſs alone.

The light which had attracted our attention, appeared, at the time of my ſtarting, to be about three quarters of a mile diſtant from us, and though it ſhifted its ſituation a little in my opinion, as I approached, yet it pretty uniformly retained a ſimilarity as to brightneſs and extenſion, until I had paſſed it a few rods, to view it a little more diſtinctly from a ſmall eminence that I perceived, and then it ſuddenly and entirely diſappeared.

On this event tranſpiring I took a circular direction, cautiouſly drawing nearer to the ſpot, but I perceived no light, nor heard any noiſe, that indicated the exiſtence of either friend or enemy; on this I then crept up to the identical ſpot from whence I conceived the light to have ariſ-

en, but no traces of fire or of light, of foe or of friend could be perceived: I then returned to my comrades, and by their account found, that the light had vaniſhed from their view, as nearly as I could aſcertain, at the ſame inſtant it did from mine, and had not afterwards afforded a ſingle gleam.

In the morning we viſited the ſpot from whence the lumiuous exhalation had ariſen during the night, but could find no traces of indians or ſoldiers, of friends, or foes; neither could we perceive the leaſt deſign of fire, or token of illumination, of any kind whatever.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Progress through the woods.—They fail in their attempt to overtake the spy's boat.—Determine still to attempt to proceed up to the American station.—Proceed on to the Byapierre river.—A messenger from the fort comes to them with intelligence from Captain Lyman.

ON account of being obliged to take a circuitous route, thro' the woods, inſtead of following the open road, we did not reach Boyd's Creek until night the day after we left the fort. Here we put up for that night and took the ſame precaution as the night before, every one being in good health and ſpirits, and ſuffered no inconvenience or ſurprize. The next morning we took an early breakfaſt at our camp at Boyd's Creek, and about 11 o'clock reached the plantation of Mr. Alſton, at the Petit Gulf, where for a few moments I viſited

the ſpot that contained the remains of my moſt reſpected and endeared partner, but our anxiety to get on, and if poſſible elude the vigilance of our infuriate purſuers, prevented our taking any refreſhment here, although our ſtock of proviſions was ſo ſcanty, that we had made but a ſlender repaſt at Boyd's Creek, in the morning. Mr. Alſton helped us to a ſmall boat, capable of carrying two men and the packs of the company, to go up the river, to the plantation were we expected to make our next ſtand, it being our determination at that time to reach the American camp, make our ſituation known, and obtain their protection as neutrals, until the return of our meſſengers from Penſacola.

Having diſpatched our boat from the Petit Gulf, we proceeded onward from Mr. Alſton's plantation, and ſoon entered on a piece of flowed ground, through which we muſt inevitably paſs, in order to reach the plantation where we had propoſed to make our next ſtand. This flowed ſpot was as we found, about eight miles in ex-

tent, and we ſeverely regretted, ſoon after entering it, our imprudence in not taking refreſhment at Mr. Alſton's, as our faſting, under the great fatigue we had to encounter, was extremely painful.

I HAD my horſe with me, and rode, but the others went on foot, and in our courſe through the flowed ground, occaſioned by the river being at that time exceeding high, I found travelling to be ſo tedious and uncomfortable a taſk, that had not the hope of thereby eſcaping the implacable malice and revenge of the deteſtable Jackſon and his partizans, ſupported me, I ſhould have been well nigh fainting under its toils. The water was up to the ſkirts of my Saddle, for a great proportion of the way, and once I was obliged to ſwim my horſe above fifty rods, and ſeveral times a ſhorter diſtance, carrying my gun and ammunition at ſuch times, in my hands raiſed above my head.

IN this tedious manner we progreſſed exceeding ſlowly and uncomfortably, and

my companions on foot were conſtrained to keep even pace, although in ſomewhat more comfortable circumſtances, as by crawling round on the cane hills they in a great meaſure avoided the water : ſo tedious was our progreſs, that by the time we had got half through the flowed ground, we were obliged to encamp for the night on a cane hill, and to pick up traſh of one kind or other to keep a fire, to preſerve our benumbed limbs from the effects of the froſt and cold, which was ſo intenſe that the water ſkimmed over with ice, although it was then the 7th of February ; at which time, in that climate, the weather generally becomes mild, and vegetation commences.

About noon the next day we got thro' to a friend's houſe, and obtained refreſhment and a ſmall ſupply of neceſſaries for the furtherance of our tour. Here after our immediately preſſing wants were relieved, feeling our minds active, and the urgency of our affairs rather encreaſing

than diminiſhing, we held a conſultation on the important queſtion, what was in the next place beſt to be done, to further our important deſign, and provide in the moſt eligible way for our future ſafety: and the reſult of our deliberation was, that we would go down to the Byapierre river, to the place where my unfiniſhed boat lay, finiſh her with all poſſible expedition, and then proceed up the Miſſiſſipi, until we ſhould reach the American ſtation, having now loſt all hopes of overtaking the ſpy, as his boat paſſed the point at Boyd's Creek, above three hours before our arrival.

CONTINUING our courſe through the woods therefore, as had been uſual for us, in order to avoid the purſuit or even the probability of any one's obtaining information of our route, we progreſſed onward to the Byapierre river, where my unfiniſhed boat lay, where we obtained decent refreſhment, and ſpent the night at the houſe of a friendly entertainer, and put ourſelves into the beſt poſſible poſture of defence, by drying our ammunition, ſcouring our arms,

and keeping a regular watch as heretofore.

Perhaps few men who have not experienced the trial, can fully conceive of the anxiety that agitated our minds at this period; but conſcious ofour innocence,and of the juſtice of our cauſe, and at the ſame time fully convinced of the bravery and mutual attachment of our little band of friends, we ſlept ſecurely until about midnight, when our centinel hailed a man that approached his ſtand, and whom he ſoon perceived to be a ſoldier. The centry giving the alarm we inſtantly ſtood to our arms, and having brought the man to a parley were happy to find, that it was a friendly ſoldier from the garriſon, ſent as an expreſs by Captain Lyman to me, with intelligence of the ſituation and occurrences ſince our departure.

He was conſtrained unhappily to inform us that the humane and brave, though credulous Captain Lyman yet remained a priſoner in the guard houſe, and the def-

potic Jackſon preſerved the command.—That our expected comrades, according to agreement, left the fort, and within a ſhort period after were ſtrenuouſly purſued by two detachments from Jackſon's party, headed by Lieutenant Pentacoſt and Lieutenant Holmes, who while ſeperate, were not able to overtake them.

That meeting at a certain point however they had agreed to join their forces, and make one more vigorous puſh, which they accordingly did, and the two lieutenants having in their zeal got a ſhort diſtance in advance of their company, overtook the deſerters, and preſſing upon them with their fuſees preſented, ordered them to lay down their arms or they were dead men, and at the ſame inſtant firing, but in the hurry of their zeal without effect, they cloſed on them, again reloading, and calling on their party to come on.

At this moment one Felt, a bold and judicious fellow in the company of our friends, conceiving all to be loſt unleſs he

could reinſpire them with magnanimity, ſprang forward, and ſnatching up a muſket which one of his companions had thrown away in his flight, advanced upon their purſuers, calling on his comrades to ſupport him. Lieutenant Pentacoſt ſnapped his rifle at Felt but it miſſed fire, and Felt in return fired on him, and lodged the whole contents of his muſket in his body, being within a few paces of him ; the ball paſſing through his bowels lodged in his arm on the oppoſite ſide ; then cocking his piſtol, Felt ſprung upon Holmes the other Lieutenant, in a moment, who finding his men did not advance to ſupport him, and perceiving his life in the power of a deſperate fellow, dropped his ſword, and ordering his men to halt, offered to come to an accommodation of difficulties.

Felt and his men gladly acceded to the propoſition, and Holmes pledged his honor, that he would return directly to the fort with his party, and not give information of the route of Felt and his friends to any others they may meet from the fort,

Felt on his part acceding to the propoſition, that they ſhould advance unmoleſted to adminiſter the offices of humanity to the wretched Pentacoſt, and to take him back to the fort with them if poſſible: Felt to retain Pentacoſt's rifle and ammunition only. Thus the captivation or deſtruction of Felt and his friends was, under Providence, happily averted by his perſonal intrepidity, and thus they parted; our friends joyful and light hearted, the Jackſon party encumbered with the body of the mortally wounded Pentacoſt, who lived in terrible diſtreſs eight days, and then died in the moſt excruciating torture.

The expreſs likewiſe informed, that on the return of Holmes to the fort, with the dying Pentacoſt, the commandant immediately iſſued a proclamation for our immediate apprehenſion, with the offer of one hundred dollars for my perſon or head, and fifty for each or either of the others; and that an hundred men part by water and part by land were out in ſearch after us in various directions; to put us more ſtrictly

on our guard against whom, the benevolent Captain Lyman had requested him to find our route and overtake us if possible, and communicate to us a circumstantial account of every affair of consequence that had transpired since we left the fort.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Adventurer and his friends are joined by the express—Mr. Phelps and the express set out to meet Felt and his party.—Adventures at a house they visited.—They meet their friends.—Hold a new consultation and alter their plan of proceedure.—Drop down the river to Manchac, and put themselves under Spanish protection.

ALTHOUGH human calamity had never in the course of my life been a gratification to my feelings, yet in the present

inſtance, I could not but rejoice at the fate of Pentacoſt: it appeared indeed to our whole company, to be ſo righteous a diſpenſation, as to gain our hearty acquieſcence, and even ſeemed to recompence our toil, and alleviate the ſenſation of our fatigue; and our pleaſure was agreeably heightened in the preſent inſtance, by the determination of the expreſs to ſhare our toils, and ſubmit to our fate. We looked upon this event as fortunate, as it added one more hardy and reſolute ſoldier to our little number.

We now held another ſhort conſultation upon the moſt eligible mode of proceedure in our preſent circumſtances, the reſult of which was, that our newly acquired friend and myſelf ſhould go in ſearch of our old comrades Felt and his party, both on account of relieving their neceſſities, and augmenting our own force. We accordingly returned about ſix miles back, to the houſe where we obtained refreſhment after we left the water; on coming to the houſe and endeavoring to get infor-

mation, we met with a magiſtrate and two men in company with him, all of whom were enemies to us, and who were poſſeſſed of the information brought to us by our friendly expreſs, they even related in our hearing, the rencountre between Felt and Pentacoſt, the conſequent death of the latter, and the reward offered by Captain Jackſon for the apprehending myſelf and the whole party.

During the converſation of theſe gentlemen among themſelves, and with us, we kept our ſtation at the door, chooſing at all times to be in a ſuitable ſituation to prevent ſurprize, yet not in any way intimating that their diſcourſe intereſted us one way or the other; but the magiſtrate at length becoming inquiſitive as to the buſineſs of my companion, at ſo great a diſtance from the fort, and enquiring whether he had a paſs or not, I handled my arms and told him that I had one for him. At this manœuvre the magiſtrate and his friends ſeemed to be ſomewhat diſconcerted, but

they immediately declared that they did not mean to interfere, in the buſineſs, or to offer us any interruption. While this converſation was paſſing, we caſt our eyes around, and at a ſmall diſtance perceived Felt and his comrades advancing. On this pleaſureable diſcovery, we proceeded a little way toward them, and calling to them, made ſigns to have them join us without apprehenſion, which to our mutual joy and ſatisfaction they did immediately.

To thoſe who have experienced equally trying ſcenes, and been ſurrounded by equally threatening appearances, it would be needleſs to attempt a deſcription of the joy we reciprocally felt at this agreeable meeting: We embraced each other with ardour, each of us feeling as it were additional vigour and reſolution, by the happy junction of Friend with Friend: and anxious to have our friends at the Byapierre participate our joys, we proceeded without further delay to the place of their encampment, where we renewedly ſenſated the ſweets of joy and gladneſs, and again

ſolemnly pledged ourſelves to defend each other to the laſt extremity.

By this laſt acceſſion of friends our number was augmented to fourteen, and by their unanimous earneſt requeſt, I took the lead of them, and preparatory to our further progreſs reviewed our arms, and thoroughly ſunned our powder. Having attended to this neceſſary buſineſs, I addreſſed my companions, and aſſured them that I would riſk my life for them in every neceſſary inſtance, and expected in return, that each of them would riſk his life for me, and for each other. That let us be oppoſed by any force whatever, it would be beſt to depend on the juſtice of our cauſe, and our own reſolution, and for every individual to determine by no means to ſhrink from danger, or to deſert his poſt, but to contend until death, as no mercy could be expected from our bloody minded purſuers, in caſe of our being overcome.

From the whole tenor of the accounts brought by our expreſs from Capt. Lyman, it appeared evident to our whole company, that it would be highly imprudent to delay our further progreſs, until the completion of my boat; that being a buſineſs which neceſſarily would require a conſiderable length of time, while our enemies were ſearching for us in every direction, by land and by water, and in the common courſe of events would ſpeedily become acquainted with our reſidence and intentions, and be able to overpower and take us priſoners, or murder us.

In this dilemma therefore we again held a general conſultation of our whole party, and the reſult was, that it was deemed moſt adviſeable to purchaſe a boat immediately, and inſtead of purſuing further our original intention, of proceeding up the river to join the Americans under General Clark, to fall down the river, as far as Manchac, and put ourſelves under the protection of the Spaniards. This plan, however imminently dangerous, was deemed

by our company in general, to be the moſt feaſible and eaſy of execution of any in our power to deviſe, and therefore, without unneceſſary delay, we ſat about the buſineſs of putting it into immediate operation, one and all firmly determining to gain our point or periſh in the attempt: And the firſt ſtep neceſſarily undertaken, was to proceed up the river to the Big Black, a tedious rout of ten leagues, being the neareſt place where, in probability, we could obtain a boat that would anſwer our end, and neceſſary ſupplies for our extremely hazardous and precarious expedition.

In the execution of this deſign it was unavoidably the caſe, that we muſt paſs cloſe by fort Penmore, and even within hail of the centinels; we had no doubt but that our enemies would be vigilant, and that purſuers both by land and water, acting under the influence of promiſed rewards, would be watchful by night and by day, but we conſidered our caſe deſperate, and

conceived we had no alternative: paſs them we muſt, and the only probable way of eſcape, in our view was, by ſuperior management and care to elude their watchfulneſs.

For theſe reaſons we were conſtrained to move only in the night, and before day to ſeek for ſome ſnug cove into which to draw our boat, and lay ſtill until dark again. And even when ſcreened by the viel of night, we were often conſtrained to float ſilently along with the current, not ſpeaking a word, or venturing to move an oar, for fear of our purſuers by water, of whom we at ſeveral times came clearly and diſtinctly within hearing. And indeed, the firſt night after we left the mouth of the Big Black river, while drifting ſilently with the ſtream, we paſſed a number of boats, occupied by nearly fifty of our purſuers, and juſt before day we dropped down in ſafety by fort Penmore, and heard their centries diſtinctly proclaim all's well.

PROVIDENCE was pleafed however to fhield us from affault, and even from difcovery, and we reached Manchac without encountering further difficulty, where we put ourfelves under the protection of the Spaniards, who had a poft eftablifhed there, and occupied a fmall fort on one fide of the Creek or River at that place, the Britifh holding a fmall fort on the other fide, the two forts being within one hundred rods of each other.

THE river here mentioned is called the Iberville, which running from the Miffiffippi empties into Mobile Bay, and divides the ifland of New Orleans from the main.

CHAPTER XX.

Captain Phelps waits upon Colonel Dixon, the British commandant at Manchac.—Is politely received and afterwards dispatched with letters from Colonel Dixon to the commandant of fort Penmore, at the Natches.—His reception there, by some of his old enemies.

THE distracted situation of the British garrison at the Natches, having come to the knowledge of the English commandant at Manchac, Col. Dixon; to whom likewise a representation of my trouble and proceedure, as well as the proceedure of my comrades, had been officially communicated, both by Captain Lyman and Captain Jackson, who had so often superceded each other in the command of fort Penmore; the Col. immediately on hearing of our arrival in the vicinity, sent a flag and a linguist to the Spanish commandant, requesting that I might be permitted to wait

on him, to unravel if poſſible the miſtery of thoſe unhappy proceedures, and to lay open to his view the path of duty requiſite for him to purſue in the caſe: This requeſt was accompanied by a moſt ſolemn aſſurance, that I ſhould be allowed one hour, free from moleſtation or impediment of any deſcription, to return.

With the conſent of the Spaniſh Commandant I immediately waited on Col. Dixon, and without diſſimulation or concealment of any kind, frankly and fully recounted to him every event, with what I conceived to have been the cauſe of its origin, progreſs, conſequences and iſſue, as critically and impartially as I could: And I had the ſatisfaction to find, that he poſſeſſed a heart of tender ſenſibility, a ſpirit ſuperior to the countenancing of injuſtice in any ſhape whatever, and that to the vigilance of the ſoldier he joined the honor and probity of the gentleman.

In the courſe of converſation the Col. enquired after Felt, who to prevent being

taken killed Lieutenant Pentacoſt. I informed him that he was on the Spaniſh ſide of the Iberville ; you are I ſuppoſe a friend to him, ſaid the Colonel ; I told him that I was, for I well knew him to be a faithful and brave ſoldier, and one who would be willing to appear and anſwer for his conduct before a regularly conſtituted court martial, or board of enquiry at any time : It is my duty ſays he to apprehend him if he comes within the Britiſh lines, and to bring him to trial before a court martial immediately ; how far his conduct on inveſtigation, may appear juſtifiable, is not for me at preſent to decide : but as the affairs of fort Penmore are about being put in a train of enquiry immediately, & to be ſearched into and adjuſted as ſpeedily as the nature of the cafe will admit, it is perhaps beſt for him to remain where he is, at leaſt for a few weeks, as he may not at preſent be able to avail himſelf of important circumſtances, that the inveſtigations of a few weeks may produce in his favor.

After this converſation, and having received from Col. Dixon the firmeſt aſſurances that my accounts with the garriſon ſhould be honorably adjuſted, as far as documents could be found to authenticate them, I agreed at his requeſt, once more to viſit fort Penmore, to aſſiſt in the adjuſtment of its difficulties, and, if practicable, to bring the villain Jackſon and his myrmidons to juſtice. With this pleaſing expectation I took charge of the Colonel's letters for the garriſon at the Natches, and received from him a permit to viſit that fortreſs and return, agreeably to my own pleaſure, free from moleſtation. I then returned to the Spaniſh commandant, to give him my ſincere thanks for his polite attention to myſelf and friends, as well as to inform my comrades of the agreeable change in the aſpect of affairs at the Natches, and then immediately prepared for the buſineſs of returning once more to the place, where I had experienced ſo many ſcenes of inſult, danger and perplexity; with my hopes and expectations anxiouſly excited, that I ſhould ſoon ob-

tain my right, and behold the insolence of my haughty oppressors humbled.

There happening at this time to be no possibility of obtaining a passage, in any convenient boat, as none was immediately going from Manchac to the Natches, I engaged as a hand, on board of a batteaux, and undertook the laborious business of helping to row up the river; my anxiety being great to face my enemies as soon as possible, and as far as lay in my power to accellerate the business of calling them to justice, and obtaining a righteous retribution. In this arduous business therefore I cheerfully engaged and proceeded: and on the fifth of April reached the Natches, after encountering a series of fatigues on our passage, that it often appeared to me, no less stimulous than the expectation of so singular advantages in the result, as those for which I was laboring, could have enabled me to endure.

On my arrival at my old station, or rather on our first striking the shore, I obser-

ved ſeveral of the ſubalterns who had joined with Jackſon and aided him in his deſpotiſm, ſtanding upon the bank. Captain Foſter, who had been appointed by Col. Dixon to take the command at Fort Penmore, being abſent from the garriſon, on a little tour into the country, at the time of my arrival, theſe gentry come down to the batteaux, to enquire into our buſineſs: their villanous countenances appeared to be ſomewhat changed, and they cordially enough offered me their hands, aſking me how I did, what news I had brought, and whether I had any letters for Captain Foſter; which if I had any, they ſaid they would undertake to deliver to him as ſpeedily as convenient.

Disdaining to ſhake hands with men who had uſed me ſo unworthily, and being much leſs inclined to truſt them with my diſpatches, or indeed with any concern whatſoever, I cooly replied that I had no pleaſurable news for them, and that with reſpect to my letters for Capt. Foſter, I

ſhould take due care to deliver them myſelf.—Finding that Capt. Foſter was not in the fort, I left theſe gentlemen therefore, without ceremony, and went to my old quarters, where I was received with a hearty welcome, and related the ſcenes I had paſſed thro' ſince we parted, with much pleaſure. After which my friends informed me that Colonel Dixon ſent on Capt. Foſter to ſupercede the villain Jackſon, in the command of fort Penmore; but that Jackſon, finding juſtice likely to overtake him, decamped ſecretly, carrying with him all the property of the garriſon that he conveniently could, and was probably returned to his old trade of horſe ſtealing, which perhaps would cloſe a race of wickedneſs by a death of infamy. That Captain Foſter immediately on taking the command of the fort liberated Captain Lyman, and ordered Capt. Mackintoſh to be arreſted, and ſent to Penſacola for trial, under various charges, where no doubt he would be broken and diſgraced, as the proof againſt him was apparently ample.

THUS after a ſhort race of unparalleled effrontery, oppreſſion and cruelty, the Jackſon banditti were overtaken by juſtice, which threatened their honors and their lives, and relieved from their oppreſſion the worthy characters who had long been inſulted by their intollerance and tyranny.

CHAPTER XXI.

Mr Phelps is again confined and releaſed by his old enemies, in the abſence of Captain Foster. Captain Foster's reception of him on his return.—He is ſeized with the pleurisy, and narrowly escapes with life.—Viſits the garrison, and finds his enemies all sent off.—Occurrences on his voyages to and from New Orleans.—Sells his effects to a villain, principally for continental Money.

AFTER a little converſation with my good friends as mentioned in the cloſe of

the laſt chapter, I retired to change my dreſs a little, in order to appear in character, if Capt. Foſter ſhould return, or in caſe buſineſs ſhould demand my attention; but, while I was buſy in that operation, a new ſcene of ſurprize and trouble ſeemed to be opening upon me; this was no other than the arrival of a ſergeant and ſix men from the fort, who entered the houſe with fixed bayonets, and produced their orders to take me priſoner, and convey me immediately to the guard houſe.

WITHOUT offering the leaſt reſiſtance I immediately attended the guard to the place appointed for my confinement, where I found ſome of my old enemies, the ſubalterns before mentioned, who exultingly told me, that Capt. Foſter being abſent from the garriſon, on a ſhort tour into the country, they had taken care to provide ſtrong quarters for me, ſuch as a mutinous deſerter ought to have, where I muſt remain until a court martial ſhould ſit to render me juſtice, or at leaſt until Capt. Foſter's return.

To this insult I replied, that my business was with Capt. Foster alone.—That I presumed my dispatches were of such a nature as would obtain justice for me, both as it respected them and their superiors: that they must detain me therefore at their peril, as I should not submit to any of their insults with impunity, not having for months past been a member of the garrison, or justly under the controul of its commandant. Upon this they withdrew for a short time to hold a consultation, as I supposed, for on their return they ordered the guard to release me unconditionally.

On the evening following Captain Foster returned and I delivered him my letters from Col. Dixon. This gentleman I found to be worthy the commission he bore; he manifested the greatest readiness to adjust my account, and to give me every possible assistance in the recovery of my rights: I tarried with this worthy gentleman a few days, in the fort, when having business in the country, I rode out to a place called

the Jerſey ſettlements, on the Homochea-ter Creek, about five leagues to the ſouth-ward of the Natches, where I was ſeized with the pleuriſy, very ſuddenly and ſeverely, and lay dangerouſly ſick, my life being many times deſpaired of, from the 14th of April until the beginning of June.

As ſoon as the ſituation of my health admitted, which was in the beginning of June, I paid another viſit to fort Penmore, where I received a hearty welcome, and was moſt cordially received by the whole garriſon, which was then freed from the deteſtable group who had given me ſuch a ſeries of trouble; Captain Foſter having, by orders from Penſacola, put the whole of them under arreſt, and ſent them down to that place for trial.

Having adjuſted my affairs at fort Penmore, I made another journey to the Byapierre River, and once more contracted for the finiſhing of the boat which had been ſo frequently an object of my care, and for her delivery with tackle, apparel and furn-

iture complete, at the Natches ; which contract was duly executed, and on the 17th of July I revifited my friends at fort Penmore, as I then conceived to take a final leave of them, but in the courfe of events it proved otherwife.

On the 21ft of July, my ftrength being reftored fufficiently, as I conceived, to enable me to fteer my boat, and concluding it would be both for the advancement of my health and intereft to go down the river, I employed the hands neceffary to affift me, and without meeting with any accident, in a few days after reached New Orleans ; having been from the firft of January to the laft of July, combating afflictions, generally harraffed with care, fubjected to almoft incredible fatigue, and afflicted with ficknefs as fevere as human nature appeared capable of fupporting. Yet on a review of the whole, I felt folemnly impreffed with the perception, that I had great reafon to adore the divine power that had fuftained me, to blefs the hand which under its chaftening ftrokes extended mercy, and had rendered

me reward in the iſſue in deſpite of all my enemies.

I HAD, as has been previouſly mentioned, entertained an idea, before I viſited the city of New Orleans, of ſetling as a trader in the vicinity of the Natches, or ſome other eligible ſituation that ſhould offer, but on my reaching that place, the rumour of war being about to be declared between the Spaniards and the Britiſh, was ſo riſe, and apparently ſo well founded, that I was deterred thereby from putting my deſign into immediate execution : I therefore purchaſed a load of neceſſaries for the garriſon, and determined once more to viſit my friends at fort Penmore.

WITH this intention I ſat out on my return to the Natches the laſt day of July, and on the eighteenth of Auguſt arrived there ſafe, in tolerable health and ſpirits, my barge being the laſt boat the ſpaniards permitted to paſs, as the war between them and the Britiſh was formally declared at New Orleans in a few days after we left it,

and on the eighth of September following the Spaniards inveſted the Engliſh forts in theſe quarters, but allowed the garriſons, in every inſtance to capitulate and ſurrender on honorable terms; permiting the ſoldiery to retire with the honors of war, and without moleſtation, to any Britiſh poſt they may chuſe, and allowing the ſetlers eight months to diſpoſe of their property, in caſe they did not incline to reſide there and become Spaniſh ſubjects.

On the capture of fort Penmore by the Spaniards, I once more determined to turn all my effects into caſh, and immediately to return to Connecticut, if practicable, to await the return of more tranquil ſcenes. In proſecuting this deſign to effect, I went down again to New Orleans, in the fore part of December 1779, the coldeſt ſeaſon being then paſſing that ever had been experienced in thoſe parts.

The fatigue and hardſhips I endured, during this uncomfortable voyage, occaſioned me another ſhort but diſtreſſing fit of

ſickneſs, but under the favor of providence I again recovered, and completed the ſale of my effects, all but about one hundred dollars worth of peltry, which I determined to take home with me. I diſpoſed of my property to one Callahan, then lately from South Carolina, for two hundred dollars, hard caſh, and twelve hundred in Continental bills. From my entire confidence in the faith of Congreſs ſolemnly pledged on the face of which, and from the behaviour and aſſurances of the villain with whom I traded, reſting firmly perſuaded that they were equal to the ſilver and gold, and concluding that on arrival in the United States I could obtain my caſh on the bills, at ſight.

Having agreed with Callahan to deliver my barge at the Natches, I immediately returned to that place, carrying a Spaniſh permit, and without meeting with any adventure worth recording, I quitted it on the 9th of May 1780, probably for the laſt time, and again returned in ſafety to New Orleans; at which time I found the

villain Callahan was in priſon in that city, having been arreſted at the ſuit of the United States, by one Mr. Oliver Pollet, or Pollock, as agent in their behalf, on the charge of having deſerted his truſt, as a purchaſing commiſſary in the ſouthern department of the Continental Army, and embezzled the public property to a very large amount.

HAVING finally adjuſted all my affairs at New Orleans, I ſat ſail for the Havanna, on the 21ſt of June 1780, and without meeting with any occurrence peculiarly worthy noticing, reached that port on the 21ſt of July following. On our arrival at the Havannah, we found a moſt dreadful putrid fever prevailing, generally denominated the goal fever, which was making the moſt alarming ravages, eſpecially among the European reſidents, and with this dreadful diſorder I was ſeized on the 30th of July, and lay for ſeveral days in ſo diſtreſſed a ſituation, that not the leaſt hopes of my recovery ſeemed to be rationally entertained. Some humane friends

however, to give me the benefit of a purer air than the city afforded, had me tenderly removed into the country, and the advantages were so great and sudden, that on the sixth of August I was able to ride a little to take the air, and in a few days after was restored to a tolerably comfortable state, although I have no reason to think that I shall ever to the day of my death get entire relief, from the effects of my last most distressing sickness, at the Havanna.

The ravages of this dreadful visitation of sickness, among the residents at the Havannah were so extensive, that there died of the European troops, in the course of twenty five days, upwards of fifteen hundred men.

On the 4th of August a Spanish fleet of seventeen sail of the line came in to the Havannah, and on the 13th an American packet arrived with dispatches for the Governor. This last was an incident which gave me much satisfaction, as my long indulged hopes seemed in a fair way to be

realiſed, by my obtaining a ſpeedy, and direct paſſage home to my native land. I accordingly engaged a paſſage immediately, my health being every day evidently on the advance, and on the 12th of September, ſat ſail with great joy from the Havannah.

On the night of the 20th we fell in with two Britiſh frigates, which lay with their ſails down, but which, on perceiving us, hoiſted ſail and crowed hard upon us, our veſſel lying cloſe haul upon the wind in order to keep her courſe.

Finding that our purſuers gained upon us, however, in this mode of ſailing, our Captain gave orders for putting away before the wind; on this they fired upon us, but without effect, and we had the ſatisfaction to perceive that we beat them by crowding ſail and running before the wind, altho' they raiſed their ſky ſweepers as our ſailors termed them, and ſpread every yard of canvas they could expect to be of the leaſt advantage. The chace continued the

whole day following, during which they fired many guns at us, but without effect. Happily for us we were able to lay our courſe the whole day, under the general prevalence of an eight or nine knot breeze, and about 11 o'clock at night by darkening our binnacle, we got clear of them entirely.

On the 24th we made Cape Henlopen, and on the 27th arrived ſafe at Philadelphia, where I had the unhappineſs to find that my paper money paſſed at ſo low a rate, as but little more than to diſcharge the expences incurred upon my paſſage, and on my reaching Harwington, viz. on the 11th of October, I had not quite the value of a hard dollar of my paper money left.

Being thus for the third time reduced from an agreeable competence to a diſtreſſing ſtate of penury, I revolved in my mind what was the beſt ſtep in exiſting circumſtances, for me to take.—I contemplated on all the viciſſitudes through which I had recently paſt, calculated on the ſyſtem of probabilities, and contingencies, and en-

deavoured to inveſtigate the point wherein I had been to blame, and how it would be poſſible to avoid ſuch mis-carriages in future, but in vain: I could not perceive wherein I had been criminally remiſs, or fooliſhly credulous:—The faith I had repoſed in my country, was predicated on the fullneſs of its promiſe, and I knew of no words more binding than thoſe inſerted on the face of the bills I had taken.—Inſtead therefore of repining or deſpairing, I ſat myſelf ſeriouſly to contemplating ſome advantageous proceſs, and providence was pleaſed to ſmile once more, on my humble attempts, and perſevering endeavors.

Nothing better offering however I hired myſelf out by the month, and endeavored to earn my wages by advancing the intereſt of my employer.—I had been in better circumſtances, had hired men to ſerve me, and expected or wiſhed from them ſuch a deportment, and the tables being now turned, I reſolved as far as providence enabled me, to let my employer feel the advantage of that aſſiduity, manifeſted by

me, which I had expected from others; as far as my health and ſtrength enabled me to do it.

In the courſe of my ſervices in this capacity, it was my lot to become acquainted with the widow Thankful Moore, to whom I was married in January 1781, and ſoon after removed to Norfolk, where I endeavored to ſupport myſelf, by honeſt labor; and bleſſed be the providence that munificently ſupplies the wants of all, that hears the young ravens of the valley when they cry, and tempers the wind to the ſhorn lamb, I had abundant reaſon to be grateful for mercies received.

My wife had four children by a former huſband, one of whom was married at the period of our union; the other three, being two boys and a girl lived with us until of age to chooſe themſelves guardians, when the oldeſt boy choſe me, but as I intended ſhortly to remove into Vermont, the other two, at my requeſt and advice, choſe a different guardian, as they had

landed intereſt which would require the attention of a friend on the ſpot.

In 1788 I proſecuted my deſign of removal to Newhaven in Vermont, to effect; and ſoon after our arrival at our new reſidence, my wife's unmarried daughter followed us, and was joyfully received; ſhe lived with us until ſhe married, and having retained the affection of her mother and myſelf, and engaged the reſpect of her neighbours, I have the pleaſing hope impreſſed upon my mind, will paſs a life of domeſtic tranquility, and enjoy the bleſſings of mediocrity and contentment.

By my preſent wife I have had three children, two of which (a ſon and a daughter,) are now living, and in the view of a partial friend, at leaſt, appear as deſirable as children of common life in general, and excite as pleaſing hopes in the minds of their parents. In addition to the common enjoyments reſulting from the poſſeſſion of a tolerable competency, I have to acknowl-

edge many tokens of reſpect from community.—I have paſſed through various grades of military honor, as an officer in the militia, and although the imbecilities of age have induced me to reſign my commiſſion, a grateful ſenſe of the honor conferred will forever remain engraven on my remembrance, as a highly valid depoſit. Heaven has been pleaſed to ſmile propitious on my labors, and to give to my decline of life a ſufficiency of worldly goods, to adminiſter to my comfort and that of my family, and I have only to hope, that the vicitudes and afflictions of life, may lead me ſenſibly to feel and duly to acknowledge, the beneficence of the great ruler of events, and induce me ſuitably to relieve the neceſſities of thoſe, who may be doomed to ſtruggle under diſtreſſes ſimilar or ſuperior, to thoſe under which I have been ſubjected to ſuffering, and from which I have been happily relieved.

APPENDIX

TO THE

Memoirs and Adventures of

CAPTAIN PHELPS.

HAVING gone through with the detail of thoſe adventures in the Miſſiſippi country, which immediately concerned myſelf, and related the principal occurrences of my life until my ſettlement in the town of Newhaven, State of Vermont, or rather to the era of the publication of this volumn, I feel impelled from the reſpect I ſhall ever bear to the memory of ſeveral deceaſed friends, mentioned in the courſe of theſe memoirs, and from regard to thoſe who ſurvive, to recite a few incidents relative to ſome of them, which by direct information came to my knowledge, after our ſeparation.

AT the time that I returned to the Natches, with letters from Col. Dixon to

the newly apppointed Commandant at Fort Penmore, Capt. Foſter ; Felt, as I before mentioned, was with the Spaniſh Commandant at Manchac, his family reſiding at the Natches. When the proſpect of war immediately commencing between the Britiſh and Spaniards, appeared inevitable, the garriſon from Manchac proceeded up the river, as far as Baton Rouge, where they erected a ſmall fortification, at which ſtation Col. Dixon retained the command, until the Spaniards came and inveſted it. At this time Felt accompanied the Spaniards in their expedition, and after the ſurrender of the garriſon at Baton Rouge, was ſent by the Spaniſh Commandant, in company with a meſſenger from Col. Dixon, to Capt Foſter the Commandant at Fort Penmore, at the Natches, with orders for them to ſurrender that fortreſs likewiſe to the Spaniards on their arrival, the Britiſh force being vaſtly inferior to the Spaniſh then in that quarter. Theſe orders were complied with, and the Spaniards took poſſeſſion of both poſts, the Engliſh garriſons being removed to Penſacola.

Some time after I left the Miſſiſſippi, I met with my old friend Capt. Lyman, from whom I received information, that ſoon after the ſurrender of Fort Penmore by the Britiſh troops, to the Spaniards, himſelf and a number of Americans determined to return home if poſſible, or at leaſt to put the fort into the poſſeſſion of the American troops, which lay a ſmall diſtance up the river, if practicable, in order probably to reap emoluments from the public property in the garriſon.

To effect this deſign they artfully fomented uneaſineſs, and ſecretly planted the ſeeds of diſaffection, which by careful culture they matured to the growth of a general inſurrection of the inhabitants, and a revolt from the newly eſtabliſhed Spaniſh government, in the neighborhood of Fort Penmore.

To protect themſelves againſt the Spaniſh ſoldiery, and carry their project into effect, the more ſecurely, they conveyed intelligence of their proceedure to the

American commander, with whom they concerted a plan to take fort Penmore from the Spaniards by ſtratagem, in which if they ſucceeded they would immediately hoiſt the Britiſh ſtandard, and then he ſhould come down, and make a vigorous ſham-attack upon the fort, after which they would ſurrender the fort to him, and the garriſon ſhould be allowed to retire with their effects, &c. to ſuch place as they may chuſe.

To further their deſign, and make up by artifice for their deficiency of ſtrength and want of permanent reſources, they were indefatigable in their ſchemes and exertions to intercept ſupplies and intelligence in its way to the fort. In this ſucceeding ſo far as to take an expreſs with letters from one Captain M'Intoſh, a reſident in the vicinity, who was a diſcerning man, acquainted with military matters, and a decided friend to the Spaniſh cauſe, they, by cunning management, and by ſecuring the meſſenger in their intereſt, ultimately made the name

of Mackintoſh effect the reduction of the fortreſs.

THIS buſineſs they effected as follows. They opened and deſtroyed the letter from Captain Macintoſh, and under his ſignature, ingeniouſly imitated, they ſent to the ſpaniſh commandant ſuch accounts relative to the ſtrength, reſources and intrepidity of the revolters, as very much ſurpriſed him. This ſurprize of the commandant, however, was not communicated to Captain M'Intoſh, but juſt ſuch an anſwer fabricated under the ſignature of the commandant, as his original letter would in probability have produced.

THUS they proceeded, the expreſs forwarding their views, and conſtantly favoring their deſigns, and delivering his diſpatches into their hands; until at length, under the ſignature of M'Intoſh, they informed the ſpaniſh commandant, of the alarming and unfounded fact, that the fort was compleatly undermined, and that a mere ſtep, a ſingle point only exiſted, be-

tween the whole garriſon and inevitable fate, as the train was laid, the execution of the buſineſs fixed for a certain hour, and the moment ſwiftly approaching. Nothing in nature being, in his view, capable of averting the horrid ſcene, but an immediate, and unconditional ſurrendery of the fortreſs to the inſurgents.

The commandant ſurprized beyond meaſure at the unexpected tidings, yet firmly relying on the approved integrity, ſoldierſhip, and diſcernment of his friend M'Intoſh, on receiving the ſummons, immediately marched out his little garriſon, who were permited by the revolters to retire to Baton Rouge.

The point thus far gained, Lyman raiſed the Britiſh ſtandard, and looked with impatience for the arrival of the American party, but unfortunately for the revolters the Americans did not come down, according to agreement, but for what reaſon their deſerted expectants never knew. The conſequences of this failure, were pe-

uliarly fatal to the party, as the depth of their ſtratagems were ſoon fathomed, their weakneſs diſcovered, and the Spaniards and Indians combined for their deſtruction, were preparing to come againſt them in great force.

THUS circumſtanced, the unfortunate Lyman and his party, conceived they had but one courſe to take; they prepared what proviſion they conveniently could, and with a number of pack-horſes, make their eſcape into the cane foreſts, and accompanied, many of them by their wives, children and negroes, determined to explore their way, if poſſible, to Georgia, through wilds of hedious length, and dangerous paſſage; and over many a region till then untrodden by the foot of man.

THE undertaking of this journey was indeed an act of deſperation. Its diſtance in a direct line, was many hundreds of miles, but it was rendered additionally tedious, by the exiſting neceſſity of avoiding

the country of feveral inimical tribes of indians, whofe territory intercepted their direct courfe.

THE circumftances of this diftrefsful tour were affecting beyond conception.—Perfons yet living in Springfield and its vicinity, who endured the perils of the journey, could fill an intereſting volume, with the account of their extraordinary perils, fufferings, and efcapes, during their progrefs thro' the defert, in the courfe of which almoft all their women, children, and negroes died.

[THE compiler had entertained hopes that in this place he would have been enabled, by the affiftance of perfons to whom he had written, to have inferted a particular account of the fingular perils of this very eventful journey, but he has been difappointed with refpect to receiving returns, and can therefore only flightly glance at a few ftriking incidents, as they have been related to him, according to his beft recollection.

[Among the adventurers in this trying ſcene, there were a great number of women, of whom three only ſurvived its perils and fatigues : One of whom was the wife of a Doctor Dwight, formerly of Northampton. This amiable and great ſpirited lady, with three lovely children, if the compiler's memory is retentive, accompanied her huſband in his flight, and often afterwards related the affecting incidents of their journey, in terms that would have affected any heart, capable of heaving a ſigh for the diſtreſſes of ſuffering humanity.

[Mrs. Dwight uſed to relate, that after the proviſions they brought with them from fort Penmore were expended, they lived adventitiouſly, upon ſuch creatures as they could catch, and upon the roots, herbs and wild fruits of the woods. That ſometimes the indians they fell in with, would plunder them of their pack horſes and ſuch other effects as they could handily get hold of, and in other inſtances furniſh them with neceſſaries to keep them from ſtarving, but that generally it was neceſſary to keep a

watch at night, to guard againſt pilferers. In the courſe of their journey they by ſome means loſt their compaſs, and had to perform great part of the requiſite travel, by obſerving the ſun, the courſe of the ſtreams, the moſs on the trees, and the directions of the indians.

[Mrs. Dwight uſed to relate that they met with ſerious obſtructions by rivers that ſometimes croſſed their way, and for the croſſing of which they had to conſtruct floats, by picking up logs and binding them together by barks or withes. At a certain time, in the courſe of their perilous tour, ſhe uſed to relate, they came to a river that was exceedingly rapid, and nearly or quite half a mile acroſs. This was a ſerious impediment, and they ſought long, but ſought in vain, for ſome poſſible means of effecting a paſſage over. At length exhauſted with fatigue, and worn out with reiterated afflictions, and the torture of hunger and thirſt, it became the general voice of the company to remain where they

were, and risk their preservation to a beneficent providence.

[To this proposition however, there was one man in the company strenuously objected; urging the probability of finding a canoe, or some means of assisting the company, on the other side, if only a few of them could get across and make search. He professed himself yet unwilling to give up hopes of success, and said if any one or more would join in the attempt, he would take one of the pack horses and risk his life freely for the general good. He repeated his generous offer, but no one inclined to join him; at length Mrs. Dwight told him she would venture, and the Doctor roused by her intrepidity said, that he would not suffer his wife to risk her life for the good of the company, through perils that he dare not encounter: He therefore joined in the enterprise, and the two men, accompanied by our heroine, each mounted on a horse, sat off to swim across the river.

[The current was ſo rapid that the horſes were carried conſiderably down the river before they got half way over, where they found a flat reef, over which the water was ſcarcely belly deep to their horſes, on to which they got, and gave a huzza, to raiſe the ſpirits and hopes of their companions. After this the men proceeded acroſs the ledge, which was generally flat, and conſiderably even. When they came to the farther ſide of the ledge they found it apparently perpendicular, and the water many fathoms deep: Mrs. Dwight was not looking on the men at the moment the horſes reached the edge of the rock, but hearing them plunge off ſhe looked, and for ſome moments could perceive nothing either of them or their riders, but at length they aroſe, and ſhe followed their example a few moments after, there being no poſſible mode of prevention; and clinging faſt to the neck of her horſe, was like them, for a few moments, emerged ſeveral feet under water. The horſes ſoon after this, conveyed them in ſafety to the wiſhed for ſhore.

[On their reaching the ſhore, they ſat themſelves diligently to work to effect the deſign of their croſſing if poſſible, and after a laborious ſearch they found an old indian canoe, ſo much impaired by time as to be almoſt totally unfit for uſe, but with which, to the great joy of their companions, they by ſtopping its cracks with ſome of their remaining rags, and by conſtantly bailing, made a ſhift to recroſs the river, and in the courſe of the day to get over the whole of their company, by three at a time. Thus the heroic confidence of an amiable woman was rendered effectual, in the diſpenſations of providence, to the ſaving of the lives probably, but certainly to forwarding the deſigns of a whole company, and effecting their deliverance from the diſtreſſes with which they were oppreſſed.

[At another period of their tour, this intelligent lady uſed to relate, it was her lot to be enabled to ſave the lives of the whole company. They had often ſhe ſaid, been oppreſſed with hunger, and endured its ravages, with much greater fortitude

than they could their entire deprivation of water. They had been ready at times to devour every thing that it was poſſible to chew; in one emergency ſhe mentioned their taking a large turtle, which they caſt into the fire and ſcorched a little, and fed out among them, a few mouthfuls at a time, and which as ſhe expreſſed herſelf, were the moſt delicious morſels ſhe had ever taſted. Yet when they became utterly deprived of drink, their former ſufferings vaniſhed. This calamity had, at a certain period, afflicted them thirty ſix hours, in the courſe of which they loſt ſeveral of their company. On the morning of the ſecond day, perceiving no ſigns of relief, and fearing they could in no wiſe live through the day without it, they erected a ſmall camp for a rallying point, where they left Mrs. Dwight and one or two others, to anſwer ſignals occaſionally, and ſat out in various directions to find water; in the afternoon however, all aſſembled, every party alike unſucceſsful, every hope alike fruſtrated: To go forward was deſpair, to return impoſſible, to continue where they were cer-

tain death. But here providence was pleafed to evince the potency of feeble means, under the direction of infinite munificence.

[On the whole company dropping into dependence, Mrs. Dwight once more took the lead: She told her friends ſhe yet hoped water may be found near by, for which ſhe was now reſolved to hunt; and if ſhe failed, as they had done, ſhe would then proceed onward and not drop until ſtrength entirely failed her. With this determination ſhe ſat out, accompanied by three or four men and women, and having travelled until they were nearly exhauſted, they came to a ſpot at the foot of two adjoining hills, of conſiderable height. The ſurface of the ground was apparently ſpungy, and eaſy of impreſſion to the foot; Here Mrs. Dwight informed her friends, that ſhe conceived they muſt find water or die, and to effect it they muſt exert themſelves in digging, in which arduous buſineſs they engaged inſtantly, with ſuch implements as their forlorn ſituation afforded, and in a

ſhort time perceived encreaſing ſigns of moiſture, and a ſlow dropping in of water. With gratitude and joy they hailed the happy omen, ſent word to their deſponding friends, and redoubled their exertions.

[The ſympathetic reader will readily conceive that the company ſpeedily arrived and joined with energy in the arduous labor of their female deliverer. The Dr. however requeſted a ſtrong guard to be placed around to keep away every one, until by bathing the temples, the palms of the hands, &c. they could bear as refreſhment, without fatal conſequences, a few drops at a time. With their horſes alſo, who ſeemed as if they would tear up the very earth, and deſtroy every thing that obſtructed their paſſage to the well, they were conſtrained to conduct prudentially, and to ſupply them with water, of which they ſoon obtained a ſufficiency by ſlow degrees.

[Almost naked and perfectly Indianiſed, the ſurvivors of thoſe toils reached

Georgia, and by various routes returned to their homes : But here the heroine who had ſurmounted ſo many troubles, dangers and diſtreſſes, ſunk under a new burthen ; Her endeared conſort being caſt away and drowned on a voyage to Nova Scotia, Mrs. Dwight ſickened and was removed, in veneration of her virtues we would humbly truſt, to realms where tears are wiped from every eye, and heaven inſpired graces meet their due reward.]

Once more to recur to my narrative.

To ſhew the inſtability of human enjoyments, and the viciſſitudes of life in a ſtrong point of view, has engaged many an abler hiſtorian than I can pretend to be ; I ſhall however venture to record a ſingular inſtance, which by the relation of my old friend Captain Lyman, came to my knowledge.

Among thoſe concerned in the revolt and capture of Fort Penmore, there was one Col. Hutchins, who acted a conſpicu-

ous part, and perhaps was more influential than any other perſon in effecting the buſineſs. This man was ſuppoſed to be a confidential friend, by the Spaniſh commandant, was admitted into his privy council at times, when he could get undiſcovered to the fort, and by that means promoted its capture, by ſubſtantiating the pretended communications from Mr. Mackintoſh, of the ſubſtance of which he was conſtantly apprized. But finding that the Americans had failed to take the fort, and that to conceal his treachery was impoſſible, he followed the example of Lyman and his party, by eſcaping into the cane foreſts with a number of pack horſes, and about twenty men.— Receiving information however that the Indians were in the Canes in ſearch of them, ſtimulated by the Spaniſh proclamation offering a handſome reward for their ſcalps ; they took the track of Lyman and his party, aiming to make their way, if poſſible, through the woods to Georgia, leaving their families and the reſidue of their effects behind them. Hutchins in particular left an excellent plantation, un-

der good improvement, and tilled by twenty ſlaves, with nearly ſeventeen hundred head of neat cattle, and abundance of other ſtock.—This great poſſeſſion was confiſcated except ſufficient barely to ſupport his wife, and the unfortunate party on the firſt or ſecond night after they quitted the canes, was overtaken by the indians, and all but two killed. Hutchins and only one more eſcaped under favor of the night, each of them with a gun, and who, when they reached Georgia, had not ſo much as the collar of a ſhirt hanging on them, and whatever became of him afterwards Capt. Lyman could not inform.

And here with real grief I feel myſelf conſtrained to add, that the once enterprizing ſoldier, and amiable gentleman, Captain Lyman, unable to bear the diſtreſſing reverſes of his fortune with fortitude, to ſtem the torrent and riſe ſuperior to its force; from depreſſion of ſpirits became ſubject to intoxication, and when I laſt ſaw him was an object of pity.

To return to the hiſtory of my friend Felt, I muſt mention, that Capt. Lyman informed me further in reſpect to him, that when the revolt happened, Felt was peaceably at home with his little family, having no connection with it. The Spaniards having imprudently offered a reward for enemys' ſcalps to the indians, diſturbed the repoſe of Felt and other ſettlers, as they ravaged the country extenſively, at times, and butchered the inhabitants of the diſtrict without diſtinction, who did not fly to the forts. In the courſe of one of their depredatory excurſions they beſet the houſe of Felt, in which at that time was himſelf, his wife, three children, and a young man whom he had hired to work on his place.

My valiant friend exerted himſelf to the utmoſt to protect his dear little family, but in vain, altho' he repelled their attacks and drove them from before his houſe.—Bent on his deſtruction, a number of the ſavage aſſailants retired to the back of his houſe, where ſheltered by a corn crib

from the fire of their brave oppoſer and his friend, they ſecurely plotted, and began to execute the dreadful buſineſs of their meditated deſtruction. In the firſt place they kindled a fire back of the corn houſe, and climbing up threw flaming brands over upon the houſe, until they ſat it on fire, at the ſame time keeping a number of markſmen ſecreted around, to kill any one that ſhould attempt to eſcape from the fire.

In this cruel manner the family of Felt was deſtroyed, and at this time Felt and his companion were likewiſe killed. By the information of the indians who ſurvived however, as the inhabitants afterwards related, Felt and his comrade did not die in the houſe. They ruſhed forth with intrepidity and fought deſperately with the indians, with the butts of their guns after diſcharging them; which account was corroborated by the circumſtance of their muſkets being found, at ſome diſtance from the houſe, with the butts of them conſiderably battered.

Bravery however was overcome by savage ferocity, and both Felt and his man were killed and scalped, and their bodies thrown into the flames, with those of the women and children. The memory of this brave and unfortunate man, will be ever a subject of respect with me; he was to me a tried and faithful friend, a worthy and deserving man, and an approved and valiant soldier.

In this scene of devastation and indian barbarity, it was likewise the lot of my old friend Leonard, and two of his sons, to be massacred; the residue of his family escaped by being at the Natches.—My other boat companion, Mr. Flowers, as I have been lately informed, married again and has become a man of very great interest.

Account of the Mississippi and countries adjacent, from various authors, and from Captain Phelps' observations, during his residence in that quarter.

THE adventures of Capt. Phelps having been principally in the Miſſiſſippi country, a ſhort geographical and topographical account of that place, (at preſent the theme of ſo great ſpeculation and political enquiry) extracted from the firſt authors within the knowledge of the compiler, and from the adventurer's communications, will be attempted.

THE Miſſiſſippi when firſt diſcovered by adventurers from Canada, was called Colbert; by ſome northern Indians, it is called Meact-Chaſſipi, meaning *The ancient father of Rivers*, from which by corruption the name Miſſiſſippi has been formed.

THIS famous river the Miſſiſſippi, is navigable upwards of 2000 miles, to the falls of St. Anthony, in latitute 45d. the

only fall we know in it, which is 16 degrees of latitude above its mouth; and even above that fall, our author tells us, there is thirty fathom of water in the river, with a proportionable breadth. About 1000 miles from its mouth it receives the river Ohio, which is navigable 1000 miles farther, some say 1500, nigh to its source, not far from Lake Ontario in New-York; in all which space there is but one fall or rapide in the Ohio, and that navigable both up and down, at least in canoes. This fall is 300 miles from the Mississippi, and 1300 from the sea, with five fathom of water up to it. The other large branches of the Ohio, the river of the Cherokees, and Wabache, afford a like navagation, from Lake Erie in the north to the Cherokees in the south, and from thence to the bay of Mexico, by the Mississippi: not to mention the great river Missouri, which runs to the northwest parts of New-Mexico, much farther than we have any good accounts of that continent. From this it appears, that the Mississippi affords the most extensive navigation of any river we know; so that it may

juſty be compared to an inland ſea, which ſpreads over nine tenths of all the continent of North America.

The Miſſiſſippi indeed is rapid for 1200 miles, as far as to the Miſſouri, which makes it difficult to go up the river by water. For that reaſon the French have been uſed to quit the Miſſiſſippi at the river St. Francis, from which they have a nigher way to the forks of the Miſſiſſippi by land. But however difficult it may be to aſcend the river, it is, notwithſtanding, often done; and its rapidity facilitates a deſcent upon it, and a ready conveyance for thoſe groſs commodities, which are the chief ſtaple of North America, from the moſt remote places of the continent above mentioned: And as for lighter European goods, they are more eaſily carried by land, as our Indian traders do, over great part of the continent, on their horſes, of which this country abounds with great plenty.

On the Baliſe, or banks formed by the ooze and ſand of the Miſſiſſippi, is a fort,

lying in 29d N. L. and 280d 30 minutes of longitude. In going up the river, the firſtremarkable place is the *English Reach*, where there are two forts, one on each ſide ; which can ſtop any ſhips, as they can go up the channel but one at a time, and can neither caſt anchor or come on ſhore to moor. Ships are obliged to wait here for a wind to carry them up to New Orleans, as the bend is ſo great that the wind which before was fair, here comes ahead. Immediately above this Reach lies New Orleans.

DESCRIPTION OF LOUISIANA.

Louisiana is bounded by the Miſſiſſippi, on the eaſt : by the Gulf of Mexico, on the weſt ; and runs indefinitely north. Under the French government Louiſiana, included both ſides of the Miſſiſſippi, from its mouth to the Illinois, and back from the river, eaſt and weſt indefinitely.

The Miſſiſſippi, on which the fine country of Louiſiana is ſituated, was firſt diſcovered by Ferdinand de Soto, in 1541.

Monſieur de la Salle was the firſt who traverſed it. He in the year 1682, having paſſed down to the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, and ſurveyed the adjacent country, returned to Canada, from whence he took paſſage to France.

From the flattering accounts which he gave of the country, and from the conſequential advantages that would accrue from ſettling a colony in thoſe parts, Louis XIV. was induced to eſtabliſh a company for the purpoſe. Accordingly a ſquadron of four veſſels, amply provided with men and proviſions, under the command of Monſieur de la Salle, embarked with an intention of ſettling near the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi; but he unintentionally failed a hundred leagues to the weſtward of it, where he attempted to eſtabliſh a colony; but through the unfavorableneſs of the climate, moſt of his men miſerably periſhed, and he himſelf was villanouſly murdered, not long after, by two of his men. Monſieur Iberville ſucceeded him in his laudable attempts. He after two ſucceſsful voyages, died while

preparing for a third. Crozat ſucceeded him ; and in 1712, the king gave him Louiſiana. This grant continued but a ſhort time after the death of Louis XIV. In 1763, Louiſiana was ceded to the king of Spain, to whom it now belongs.

This country is interſected by a number of fine rivers, among which are the St. Francis, which empties into the Miſſiſſippi at Kappas Old Fort, navigable about two hundred and fifty or three hundred miles ; its courſe is nearly parallel with the Miſſiſſippi, and from twenty to thirty miles diſtant from it ; the Natchitoches, which empties into the Miſſiſſippi above Point Coupee ; the Adayes or Mexicano river, emptying into the gulph of Mexico—and the river Rouge, on which, it is well known, are as rich ſilver mines as any in Mexico. This is ſuppoſed to be one principal reaſon why the excluſive navigation of the Miſſiſſippi has been ſo much inſiſted on by Spain.

LOUISIANA is agreeably ſituated between the extremes of heat and cold; its climate varies as it extends to the north. The ſouthern parts, lying within reach of the refreſhing breezes from the ſea, are not ſcorched like thoſe under the ſame latitudes in Africa; and its northern regions are colder than thoſe of Europe under the ſame parallels, with a wholeſome ſerene air. To judge of the produce to be expected from the ſoil of Louiſiana, we ſhould turn our eyes to Egypt, Arabia Felix, Perſia, India, China, and Japan, all lying in correſponding latitudes. Of theſe, China alone has a tolerable government; and yet it muſt be acknowledged, they all are, or have been famous for their riches and fertility. From the favourableneſs of the climate, two annual crops of Indian corn may be produced; and the ſoil, with little cultivation, would furniſh grain of every kind in the greateſt of abundance. The timber is as fine as any in the world, and the quantities of live oak, aſh, mulberry, walnut, cherry, cypreſs, and cedar, are aſtoniſhing. The neighborhood of the Miſ-

ſſippi, beſides furniſhes the richeſt fruits in great variety; the ſoil is particularly adapted to hemp, flax, and tobacco; and indigo is at this time a ſtaple commodity, which commonly yields the planter three or four cuttings a year. In a word whatever is rich and rare in the moſt deſirable climates in Europe, ſeems to be the ſpontaneous production of this delightful country. The Miſſiſſippi and the neighbouring lakes furniſh in great plenty ſeveral ſorts of fiſh, particularly perch, pike, ſturgeon and eels.

In the northern part of Louiſiana, forty five miles below the mouth of the Ohio river, on the weſt bank of the Miſſiſſippi, a ſettlement is commenced conducted by Col. Morgan, of New Jerſey, under the patronage of the Spaniſh King. The ſpot on which the city is propoſed to be built, is called New Madrid, after the capital of Spain, and is in the north latitude 36 d. 30 minutes.

The limits of the new city of Madrid were to extend 4 miles S. and 2 W. from the river; ſo as to croſs a beautiful, living deep lake, of the pureſt ſpring water, 100 yards wide, and ſeveral miles in length, emptying itſelf, by a conſtant, rapid and narrow ſtream, through the center of the city. The banks of this lake, which is called St. Annis, are high, beautiful, and pleaſant; the water deep, clear and ſweet, and well ſtored with fiſh; the bottom a clear ſand, free from ſhrubs or other vegetables. On each ſide of this delightful lake, ſtreets were to be laid out one hundred feet wide, and a road to be continued round it of the ſame breadth, and the trees are ordered to be preſerved forever, for the health and pleaſure of the citizens. A ſtreet one hundred and twenty feet wide on the bank of the Miſſiſſippi was laid out; and the trees were directed to be preſerved for the ſame purpoſe.

According to projection, 12 acres in a central part of the city were to be pre-

ſerved in like manner, to be ornamented, regulated, and improved, by the magiſtracy of the city for the public walks, and forty acres for other public uſes, and twelve acres for the king's uſe. We do not hear that this ſcheme is proſecuting, and conclude it is given up. The country in the vicinity of this intended city, is repreſented as excellent, and in many parts beyond deſcription. The natural growths the ſame as near the Natches, with one or more grape vines running up almoſt every tree, aud the grapes yield from experiment, good red wine in plenty and with little labour. In ſome of the low grounds grow ſurprizingly large Cypreſs trees. The climate is ſaid to be favorable to health, to the production of fruits, and to the growth of garden vegetables. The meadows are fertile in graſs, flowering plants, ſtrawberries, and briar berries, and when cultivated, produce good crops of wheat, barley, indian corn, flax, hemp, and tobacco, and are eaſily tilled. Iron and lead mines, and ſalt ſprings, it is aſſerted, are found in ſuch plenty as to afford an abundant ſupply of

thoſe neceſſary articles. The banks of the Miſſiſſippi, for many leagues in extent, commencing about twenty miles above the mouth of the Ohio, are a continued chain of limeſtone. A fine tract of high, rich, level land lies ſouth weſt by weſt, and northweſt of New Madrid, about twenty five miles wide, and extends quite to the river St. Francis.

DESCRIPTION OF NEW-ORLEANS.

New Orleans the metropolis of Louiſiana, was regularly laid out by the french in the year 1720, on the eaſt ſide of the river Miſſiſſippi, in latitude 30 deg. 2 min. north, and longitude 89 deg. 53 min. weſt, eighteen miles from the Engliſh Reach, and 105 miles from the Baliſe, at the mouth of the river. All the ſtreets are perfectly ſtrait but too narrow, and croſs each other at right angles. There were in 1783 eleven hundred houſes in this town, generally built with timber frames, raiſed about eight feet from the ground, with large galleries round them, and the cellars under the floors level with the ground; any ſub-

terraneous buildings would be conſtantly full of water. Moſt of the houſes have gardens. In March 1788, this town by a fire was reduced in five hours to two hundred houſes; it has ſince been rebuilt. The ſide next the river is open, and is ſecured from the inundations of the river, by the raiſed bank, generally called the levee, which extends from the Engliſh Reach to the upper ſettlement of the Germans, a diſtance of more than fifty miles, with a good road all the way. There is reaſon to believe that in a ſhort time New Orleans may become a great and oppulent city; if we conſider the advantages of its ſituation, but a few leagues from the ſea, on a noble river, in a moſt fertile country, under a delightful and wholeſome climate, within two week's ſail of Mexico, and ſtill nearer the french, ſpaniſh and britiſh weſt india iſlands, with a moral certainty of its becoming a general receptacle for the produce of that valuable country, on the Miſſiſſippi, Ohio, and its other branches; all which are much more than ſufficient to enſure the future wealth, power and proſperity of

this city. The veſſels which ſail up the Miſſiſſippi haul cloſe along ſide of the bank next to New Orleans, to which they make faſt, and take in or diſcharge their cargoes with the ſame eaſe as at a wharf.

Le Baton Rouge, is about twenty ſix leagues diſtant from New Orleans. Here ſtood a famous Cypreſs tree, ſo large that a ſhip carpenter offered to make two petty-augres, one of ſixteen and one of fourteen tons out of it. One of the firſt adventurers happening humouroufly to obſerve that it would make a good walking ſtick, & cypreſs being a red wood the place from that time obtained the name of Le Baton Rouge. —At forty leagues from New Orleans lies Point Coupee, or the Cut Point, ſo called from a large elbow being formed there by the Miſſiſſippi, forming almoſt a a circle, open only about one hundred toiſes.* This paſſage is ſaid to have been diſcovered by two men, who in coming down the Miſſiſſippi were ſtopped at this place by the running of an exceeding high ſea in the

* *A toiſe is 6 feet 4 inches.*

river, a ſhort diſtance a head. One of them took his gun, and travelling down this paſſage, then a little rivulet of not more than a foot deep, and perhaps four or five feet wide, ſoon perceived himſelf in a ſpacious opening, near a great body of water, which he conceived to be a lake, when on looking round, to his great ſurprize, he obſerved a place on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, which he well knew, and from which a few minutes before, he had conceived himſelf to be ſeveral leagues diſtant. He ran and acquainted his companion who could not believe it poſſible, but accompanied him with pleaſure in order to aſcertain the fact; fully convinced that there was no miſtake in the caſe, they went back to their pettyaugre, and by exertion, in cutting away a few roots, and clearing away obſtructions, they puſhed their pettyaugre through the rivulet, the water of the river preſſing after, and aſſiſting their exertions ſo effectually, that in about an hour they found themſelves in the Miſſiſſip-

pi, ten leagues further down than they were at the time of ſtarting.

THIS paſſage ſoon became the main bed of the river, and the old channel is now dry. At Point Coupee the river is, on both ſides, lined with inhabitants. At twenty leagues diſtance from Point Coupee lies the Red River, and thirty leagues further up lies the military poſt at the Natches, in 32 deg. odd minutes, north latitude. The fort at this place is ſituated on a hill, two hundred feet perpendicular above low water mark, commanding an extenſive view in every direction, and to the weſtward bounded only by the horizon; the foundation of the fort being higher than the trees on the weſt ſide. Forty leagues higher up than the Natches, the Yazoo comes in from the North-Eaſt, which terminated the extent of our traveller's tour in that country.

ABOUT two thouſand families of white people inhabit thoſe parts of this territory where the indian claim has been extin-

guiſhed, chiefly at the Natches and Yazoo river, on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, and a conſiderable number on the Tombigbee river, and ſcattered among the Creek nation of indians. This territory lying between the thirty firſt and 35th degree of north latitude, is not ſubject to the extremes of heat and cold; the climate is temperate and delightful through the year, and except in low ground and in the neighbourhood of ſtagnant water, is very healthful. White froſt and ſometimes thin ice have been ſeen as far ſouth as the thirty firſt degree of latitude, but ſnow is ſeldom ſeen in theſe parts. It is ſaid that the land is well ſupplied with excellent ſpring water, is delightfully variegated, as to meadow and upland, flowery and timber produce, with pleaſant rivulets, delightful ſituations for ſettlement, and pure ſtreams.

In aſcending the Miſſiſſippi there are extenſive natural meadows, with a proſpect of the Gulf of Mexico on each ſide, to the diſtance of thirty two miles, thence twenty miles to the ſettlements, the banks are

low and marſhy, generally overflowed, and covered with Palmeto buſhes, and thick woods, ſeemingly impenetrable to man and beaſt. Thence to the Engliſh Reach, at the bend of the river, the banks are well inhabited, and from thence to New Orleans, which is eighteen miles further: the whole of which diſtance there is an excellent road for carriages.

From New-Orleans, the capital of Louiſiana, there is an eaſy communication with Weſt-Florida, by Bayouk Creek, which is a water of Lake Ponchartrain, navigable for veſſels drawing four feet water, ſix miles up from the lake, to a landing-place two miles from New-Orleans. For nearly 50 miles, as you proceed up the river, both its banks are ſettled and highly cultivated, in part by emigrants from Germany, who furniſh the market with indigo of a ſuperior quality, cotton, rice, beans, myrtle wax, and lumber. In 1762, ſome rich planters attempted the cultivation of canes and the making of ſugar, and erected mills for the purpoſe. This ſugar

was of an excellent quality, and ſome of the crops were large; but ſome winters proving ſo ſevere as to kill the canes, no dependance can be placed on the culture of that article.

The ſettlements of the Acadians, which were begun in the year 1763, extend on both ſides of the river, from the Germans, to the river Ibberville, which is 99 miles above New-Orleans, and 270 from Penſacola, by way of lakes Ponchartrain and Maurepas.

At Point Coupee, 55 miles above the Ibberville, are ſettlements extending 20 miles on the W. ſide of the river, which, 30 years ago, had 2,000 white inhabitants, and 7,000 ſlaves, who were employed in the cultivation of tobacco, indigo, Indian corn, &c. for the New-Orleans market, which they furniſhed alſo with poultry, and abundance of ſquared timber, ſtaves, &c.

Mr. Hutchins, from his perſonal knowl-

edge, deſcribes the country on both ſides of the Miſſiſſippi, between the latitudes 30 and 31, bordering on Georgia, as follows:

"ALTHOUGH this country might produce all the valuable articles raiſed in other parts of the globe, ſituated in the ſame latitudes, yet the inhabitants principally cultivate indigo, rice, tobacco, Indian corn, and ſome wheat; and they raiſe large ſtocks of black cattle, horſes, mules, hogs, ſheep, and poultry. The ſheep are ſaid to make the ſweeteſt mutton in the world. The black cattle, when fat enough for ſale, which they commonly are the year round, are driven acroſs the country to New-Orleans, where there is always a good market.

THIS country is principally timbered with all the different kinds of oak, but moſtly with live-oak, of the largeſt and beſt quality; uncommonly large cypreſs, black walnut, hickory, white aſh, cherry, plum, poplar trees, and grape vines; here is found

alſo a great variety of ſhrubs and medicinal roots. The lands bordering the rivers and lakes, are generally well wooded, but a ſmall diſtance from them are very extenſive natural meadows, or ſavannas, of the moſt luxuriant ſoil, compoſed of a black mould, about one and half feet deep, very looſe and rich, occaſioned in part by the frequent burning of the ſavannas; below the black mold is a ſtiff clay of different colours. It is ſaid this clay, after being expoſed ſometime to the ſun, becomes ſo hard that it is difficult either to break or bend it, but when wet by a ſlight ſhower of rain, it ſlackens in the ſame manner that lime does when expoſed to moiſture, and becomes looſe and moulders away, after which it is found excellent for vegetation.

After paſſing the thirty firſt degree of North latitude, you enter what is called the Natches country. The ſoil of this country is ſuperior to any lands on the border of the Miſſiſſippi, for the production of many articles. Its ſituation being higher affords a greater variety of ſoil, and it is in

a more favorable climate for the growth of wheat, rye, barley, oats, &c. than the country lower down and nearer to the ſea. Captain Phelps mentions but one experiment made in the raiſing of wheat while he was in that country, when on ſowing half a buſhel the produce was ſixteen buſhels, and the quality excellent. By carefully obſerving the practice of roping, he is of the opinion that good crops may be generally enſured. The ſoil alſo produces in equal abundance, Indian corn, rice, hemp, flax, indigo, cotton, potherbs, pulſe of every kind, and paſturage. And the tobacco made here, is eſteemed preferable to any cultivated in other parts of America. Hops grow wild, and all kinds of European fruits arrive to great perfection: no part of the known world is more favorable to the raiſing of every ſort of ſtock. The riſing grounds are covered with graſs and herbs of the fineſt verdure, and are well adapted to the cultivation of vines; Mulberry trees are very numerous, and the winters ſufficiently moderate to preſerve

the ſilk worm. Clay of different colours, fit for glaſs works and pottery, is found here in great abundance; and alſo a variety of ſtately timber, fit for houſe and ſhip building, &c.

The diſtrict of the Natches, as well as all along the eaſtern bank of the Miſſiſſippi, to the river Iberville, was ſetling very faſt, by emigrations from the northern ſtates, till the capture of the Britiſh troops on the Miſſiſſippi, in the year 1799, as recorded in Phelps' Narrative, put an entire ſtop to it.

From fort Roſalie to the Petit Goufre, or Petty Gulf, as termed by Capt. Phelps, is ten leagues and a half There is a firm rock on the eaſt ſide of the Miſſiſſippi for near a mile, which ſeems to be of the nature of lime ſtone. The land near the river is much broken and very high, with a good ſoil and ſeveral plantations on it. From the Petty Gulf to Stoney river is a league and a half. From the mouth to what is called the forks of the river is com-

puted to be ſeven leagues. In this diſtance there are ſeveral quarries of ſtone, and the land has a clay ſoil, with gravel on the ſurface of the ground. On the north ſide of this river the land in general is low and rich; that on the ſouth ſide is much higher, and broken into hills and vales, but here the low lands are not often overflowed; both ſides are ſhaded with a variety of uſeful timber. At the fork the river parts almoſt at right angles, and the land between and on each ſide of them is ſaid to be clay and marl ſoil, not ſo uneven as the land on the river lower down. From Stoney river to the Big Black is ten miles. This river, at the mouth is about thirty yards wide, but within from thirty to fifty yards, and is ſaid to be navigable for canoes thirty or forty leagues. About a mile and a half up this river, on the right, the lands are high and much broken. A mile and a half further, the high lands appear again to the right, where there are ſeveral ſprings of water, but none have yet been diſcovered on the left. About eight miles further there are high lands near the

river on the left, apparently the ſame as runs from the Yazoo cliffs. Six miles further the land is high on both ſides of the river, for two or three miles, but broken and full of ſprings of water. This land on the left was choſen by General Putnam, Capt. Enos, Mr. Lyman, and other New England adventurers, as a proper place for a town, and by order of the Governor and Council of Weſt Florida, in 1773, it was reſerved for the capital. The country is very fit for ſettlement, for four or five miles above, being rich, on both ſides the river, and neither ſo much drowned or ſo broken as lands lower down. About ſix miles and a half further there is a rapid water, ſtones and gravel bottom, 160 yards in length; and in one place a firm rock almoſt acroſs the river, and as much of it bare, when the water is at a moderate height, as confines the ſtream to nearly twenty feet, and the channel is about four feet deep.

From the Big Black river to the Yazoo Cliff is forty miles. From this Cliff the high lands lie north eaſtward, and ſouth-

south eastward, bearing off to the river, full of cane and rich soil, even to the very highest ridges. Just at the south end of the Cliffs the land is low, where the water of the Mississippi, when high, flows back, and runs between the bank and high land, which ranges nearly northerly and south-south-easterly to the Big Black, occasioning much wet ground. From the Cliffs to the Yazoo river is seven miles and a half.

The mouth of this river is upwards of one hundred yards in width. It runs from the north east, and glides through a healthy, fertile, and pleasant country, greatly resembling that about the Natches, particularly in the luxuriancy and diversity of its soil, variety of timber, temperature of climate, and delightful situation. It is remarkably well watered by springs and brooks; many of the latter, afford us convenient mill seats. Further up the river the canes are less frequent, and smaller in size, and at the distance of twenty miles there are scarcely any. Here the country

is clear of underwood, and well watered, and the ſoil very rich, which continues to the Chactaw and Chickeſaw towns, on the eaſtern and north weſtern branches of Yazoo river. Theſe branches unite fifty miles from the Miſſiſſippi, following the courſe of that river; the navigation to their junction, commonly called the fork, is practicable in very large boats in the ſpring ſeaſon, and with ſmaller ones a conſiderable way further, with the interruption of but one fall, where they are obliged to make a ſhort portage, twenty miles up the North-weſt branch, and ſeventy miles from the Miſſiſſippi. The country in which the Chactaw and Chickeſaw towns are ſituated, is ſaid to be as healthy as any part of the continent, the natives ſcarcely ever being ſick. Such of them as frequent the Miſſiſſippi, leave its banks as the ſummer approaches, leaſt they might partake of the fevers that ſometimes viſit the low, ſwampy lands bordering upon that river. Wheat it is ſaid yields better at the Yazoo than at the Natches, owing probably to its more northerly ſituation. One very conſiderable

advantage will attend the ſettlers on the river Yazoo, which thoſe of the Natches will be deprived of without going to great expence, that is, the building with ſtone, there being great plenty near the Yazoo, but none has yet been diſcovered nearer to the Natches than the Petty Gulf, a diſtance of about thirty one miles, and between this place and the Baliſe there is not a ſtone to be ſeen any where near the river.

THOUGH the quantity of good land on the Miſſiſſippi and its branches, from the Bay of Mexico to the river Ohio, a diſtance of nearly one thouſand miles, is vaſtly great, with many conveniences attending it; ſo likewiſe we may eſteem that in the neighbourhood of the Natches, and of the river Yazoo, lies the flower of it all.

ABOUT a mile and a half up the Yazoo river, on the N. ſide, there is a large creek which communicates with the Miſſiſſippi, above the river St. Francis, about 100 leagues higher up, by the courſe of the river. It paſſes through ſeveral lakes by the

way. At the diſtance of about 12 miles from the mouth of the river Yazoo on the S. ſide, are the Yazoo hills. There is a cliff of ſolid rock at the landing place, on which are a variety of broken ſea-ſhells, and ſome entire. Four miles further up, is the place called the Ball Ground, near which a church, fort St. Peter, and a French ſettlement, formerly ſtood. They were deſtroyed by the Yazoo Indians in 1729. That nation is now entirely extinct."

Capt. Phelps's description of the Mississippi from his personal observations, with remarks on the manners, and customs of the inhabitants, nature of soil, &c.

IN deſcribing the Miſſiſſippi from its confluence wih the ocean, from my own obſervation, I ſhould ſay, that the land from the mouth up to New-Orleans, lies low and marſhy, the channel is about a mile in width, with a heavy current and little or no tide. New-Orleans is 85 leagues from the mouth of the river.

In proceeding up the river to Manchac, and even much farther upon the weſt ſide, the banks appear ſluſh on the river, and deſcending back, ſo that the water, which in its annual inundations leaves the river, is not returned into it again. The natural reaſon for this is, that the ſand and ooze, which the freſhets convey down, naturally and ſpeedily produces canes on the banks, which ſtopping the thickeſt of the leaves, ſand, &c. and admitting the waters thus ſtrained to deſcend its oval banks, on to the face of the country, the waters are collect in lakes, or run off in rivulets in various directions, but never reenter their original ſource. The banks of the river in this part of the country are ſo curiouſly ſloping toward the land, and ſluſh on the water, that by opening ſmall ſluices to the depth of twelve or 15 feet, and letting the water into a flume for 200 yards, there is generally fall enough to carry a mill for four or five months in the year. The river is ſo crooked that it is ſcarcely poſſible in any part of it that I ſaw, to ſail more than five leagues, without having the wind

come a head, if it continues in any ſteady direction. The ſhore is ſo bold that you can come to the bank, make faſt, and ſtep on ſhore, generally, without any difficulty. The country is ſecured from inundation by building levees, or mounds, called dykes.

The ſpring freſhets generally come down the firſt of March, and prevail until the firſt of July, the inundation of the Miſſouri begins in a few days after, and holds up until about the firſt of Auguſt, during which time the preſſure of the waters of that river is ſo great, as to obſtruct the whole current of the Miſſiſſippi, and driving over from the weſt to the eaſt bank, progreſſes along the eaſt bank for ſome diſtance before it mingles with the current of the Miſſiſſippi, as is clearly aſcertained by the colour of the water.

The prineipal ſtreams that enter the Miſſiſſippi from the eaſt, according to my information, are the Illinois, the Ohio, the Yazoo, Big Black, Byapierre, Boyd's creek,

and Homocheater or Hammachitta. From the weſt the Oſark, which is very large, the Red River, which flows from the ſeat of the mines in Mexico, the waters of which are very red, nearly the colour of a poliſhed brick, but when ſettled the taſte of it is agreeable. The River of the Arcanſas, River St. Francis, the Miſſouri, and the River of Salt.

THERE are fiſh of various kinds in the Miſſiſſippi, and Big Black, (with which rivers I was particularly acquainted) the principal of which were the Cat fiſh and Sheeps Head, very large and good. There are likewiſe Alligators or Crocodiles in theſe rivers, formed ſomewhat like our evits, and generally from ten to eighteen feet in length, but they are not an animal capable of creating terror, being eaſily deſtroyed or avoided by the inhabitants.

ONE peculiarity, of theſe creatures which fell within my obſervation, was their incapacity to bear exceſſive cold. I had ſeen in paſſing up the Big Black, at times,

thirty or forty of theſe creatures, ſleeping on the ſhore, or ſunning on old logs, and generally killed a number, on the tails of which the inhabitants make an agreeable repaſt; but in going up the river after the hard winter of 1779 and 1780, I ſaw but one live one, while the ſhores were lined in a manner with dead ones, and the air perfectly tainted. The land on the eaſt ſide of the river is flat, up to the Baton Rouge, or riſing of eighty leagues, and on the weſt ſide nearly three hundred leagues, or to the Ozarke river.

The ſoil is rich, and bears three diſcriptions, firſt the lower or flowed land, which is a deep and luxuriant ſoil, and produces good indigo and rice, the plain or cane lands, which are excellent for tobacco, cotton, &c. and the hill land, which is excellent for corn, and for wheat, if attended to by roping according to the practice in ſome parts of Europe, or indeed for any produce requiſite for the comfort or convenience of man, as far as I ever knew them to be tried; except the common ſort of

potatoes, which run exceedingly to vines, and conſequently form but little root.

Their neat cattle are ſo abundant that it is not uncommon for one planter to have from 1000 to 2000 head; horſes very plenty, ſheep ſcarce and unprofitable, their wool being of no account; poultry in great abundance. There is likewiſe great plenty of excellent fruits, in continued ſucceſſion from April until November; viz. Strawberries, Mulberries, Apples, Peaches, Plumbs, Grapes, Sour Oranges, &c.

Of wild animals, I obſerved the Buffalo, Bear, Wolf, Panther, Deer and Poſſum, which latter was a ſurprizing ſpecies of animals to me, as, when purſued, they received their young into a falſe belly, and ſought their ſafety by hiding. Among the wild fowl I obſerved the Turkey, Turkey Buzzard, wild geeſe, ducks, pidgeons, paroquets and various kinds of northern birds of paſſage. Of the reptile kind there are the rattle ſnake, the copper head, or rattle

ſnake's mate, ſo called, the black ſnake and the ſtreaked ſnake, but the country is not much infeſted by them.

THE inhabitants at the Engliſh Reach, at New Orleans, and generally on the Spaniſh ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, ſpeak French, and are of a ſwarthy complexion. Their nobility are fond of dreſs, and courteous to ſtrangers; their diet is generally ſoups and friccaſees, made principally of vegetables, their uſe of fleſh bearing but ſlight comparıſon tothat of the Engliſh people. The common people, are low bred, and very ignorant, and their mode of living but little ſuperior to that of the negroes, who are very nemerous, and their allowance a buſhel of rice or corn per month, with ſuch vegetables or other things as they can pick up for themſelves, their dreſs a breech cloth or ſhort petticoat only. The inhabitants of Weſt Florida, were principally from the American States, are a robuſt well made people, and ſubject to the laws of England.

The climate is temperate, being only light frosts, generally in December and January. The fields beautifully cloathed with flowers, and the fruit-trees bloom the beginning of February, and strawberries are frequently gathered by the beginning of April.

The Mississippi is exceedingly crooked, many points or projections into it being occasioned by the collection of sand & ooze annually brought down by the inundations. At the place where the Hammachitta sits in there is a point formed, around which it was seven leagues from the indention of one side to that of the other, and only about forty or fifty feet across. When we came to this place, in our progress up the river, the water was very high, so as to overflow the banks a little; there were seventy of us, with eleven boats in company, and being loath to make so long a tour when the cross passage of a few feet might effect the same purpose, we took first our smallest boats and drew them across, and then our largest, until we crossed with them.

all, in profecuting which buſineſs we made ſo deep a channel, that the water would have been up to a man's armpits; when I returned to this place ſix weeks afterwards, the channel of the river was through this paſſage, and when I left the country there was an iſland of an hundred acres formed in the old channel. Another ſingular curve in the Miſſiſſippi is formed at Point Copee, around which in was three days row, and a man might walk acroſs in half an hour.

The Red River, and the Miſſouri, are at their junction with the Miſſiſſippi, nearly as large as that river. Both theſe rivers, as before mentioned, are from the weſt. The government of Louiſiana, by a Vice Roy, upon the plan of the Spaniſh monarchy, was ſaid to be extremely deſpotic. One ſingular incident occurred during my reſidence there, which if true as related, would illuſtrate this point ſtrikingly. The Spaniards work their mines by ſentencing culprits to them, who are condemned for trifling offences, to labor in them during

life; there were two brothers by the name of Bearfield, reſidents in the Weſtern part of the government, one of whom complained to the Commandant, that the other had ſworn to lay violent hands on him, the commandant: upon this accuſation the two brothers were arreſted, and without further proceſs received from him a ſentence to work in the mines. This awful ſentence the commandant juſtified by the following curious mode of arguing; that if the information was true, the intended aſſaſſin ought to ſuffer, if falſe, the complainer ought to be puniſhed ſeverely; that as the buſineſs would be difficult to inveſtigate, and the quarrel of the brothers was ſo violent as to denote them to be both bad men, it was beſt to prevent either of them from injuring the government.

As far as my information extended the manners of the people were in general rough, as their government was vigorous and deſpotic. But I ſhall forbear more particular obſervations, from a conſcious-

neſs of my inferiorty to many viſitants to this fruitful and beautiful country, and who will doubtleſs give a full and correct hiſtory of it, at no very diſtant period, to the world.

I SHALL cloſe my narrative by mentioning the names in general of my fellow paſſengers, and denoting as far as my information extends, thoſe who are alive and thoſe who are dead out of their number. I made my firſt voyage in a veſſel owned by Dennifon and Smith, of Stonington, commanded by Capt. Porter of Lebanon, with whom Mr. Thomas Fanning failed as Mate, both of whom are dead. The veſſel was worked by two of Captain Porter's ſons, and one other ſailor.—Paſſengers Thaddeus and Phineas Lyman with eight ſlaves, Thaddeus is ſince dead, theſe were from Suffield, as were likewiſe Moſes and Iſaac Sheldon, Roger Harmon, and one Huncks; of theſe laſt mentioned, Mr. Harmon is dead. Seth Miller and Eliſha and Joſiah Flowers of Springfield :—Moſes Dra[illegible], Ruggles Winchel, and Benjamin

Barber of Weſtfield, the latter is dead. Mr. Wolcott, from Windſor—Daniel and Roſwell Magguet of Hartford, the latter is dead. Thomas Comſtock and Mr. Weed of Newhartford: Capt. Silas Crane, Robert Patrick, Aſhbel Bowen, John Newcomb, and James Dean of Lebanon; Dean, Bowen and Newcomb are dead. Abraham Knap and myſelf, of Norfolk. Giles and Nathaniel Hull, James Stoddert, and Thaddeus Bradley of Saliſbury; Nathaniel Hull is dead. Ephraim Caſe and Hezekiah Reu, from Sheffield; the latter is dead. John Fiſk and Eliſha Hale of Wallingford. Timothy Hotchkiſs and David Hotchkiſs, of Waterbury. John Hyde, William Silkrag, Jonathan Lyon, and William Davis, of Strafford or Derby: Mr. Hyde is dead. ——We failed in the Gulf of Mexico, in company with a veſſel from Connecticut, commanded by Captain Weſt Goodrich, of Durham, Mr. Iſrael Burnet, mate, on board of which was Capt. Ladley of Hartford, ſince dead; General Lyman of Suffield, dead: Hugh White, now the noted Judge White, of Whitetown, but then from Mid-

dletown : Thomas and James Lyman, from Durham, the latter dead ; Capt Elfworth, Ira Whitmore, and —— Sage, from Middletown ; and Major Early of Weathersfield.

In a veſſel that followed us, the October following my ſailing on my firſt voyage, there went to the ſame place, James Harmon and family, and Elnathan Smith, of Suffield ; William Hurlburt and Elijah Leonard, of Springfield, with a number of ſlaves.

On my ſecond voyage I ſailed in a veſſel commanded by Capt. Eggleſton, Seth Dowd, mate, with whom went paſſengers Major Timothy Dwight with a wife and one child ; Sereno and Jonathan Dwight, of Northampton : Sereno is dead. Benjamin Day, and family ; Harry Dwight and three ſlaves ; Joſeph Leonard and Joſiah Flowers, with their families, from Springfield ; Mr. Leonard and his wife, and Mrs. Flowers are dead : the Rev. Mr. Smith, and family, from Granville, Maſſachuſetts ;

Mr. Smith is dead. The wife of Elnathan Smith and family, who on her arrival found her husband was dead; Madam Lyman with three sons and two daughters, children of General Lyman, whom with one son she found dead on her arrival, the knowledge of which loss she survived but a few days; and John Felt and family, from Suffield: of the bravery and death of Mr. Felt, with the destruction of his family by the indians, the reader will recollect particular mention is made in my narrative.

THERE were several others who accompanied me in my two voyages, whose memories I shall ever respect, although their names have escaped my recollection. Having aimed at truth and plain narrative only, without venturing in a single instance to sacrifice truth in order to amuse; the adventurer and compiler respectfully take leave of the reader, hoping that the authenticity of the history will in some measure atone for any literary defects, which his or her superior discernment may perceive.

ERRATA.

In page 16, fourth line, for Stonington read Lebanon. In page 26, fourth line from the bottom, for north-weſtward, read north-eaſtward. In page 72, firſt line, for General Lyman of Maſſachuſetts, read, of Suffield, in Connecticut. Page 73, third line, from the top, for Major Lyman, read Major Dwight. Page 83, firſt line, for 2d. of November, read 22d.

DISTRICT OF VERMONT, TO WIT.

BE it remembered, that on the tenth day of July, in the twenty-seventh year of the Independence of the United States of America, Anthony Haswell of the said district, hath deposited in this office, the title of a book, the right whereof he claims as author, in the words following, to wit,

"*Memoirs and adventures of Capt. Mat-*
"*thew Phelps, formerly of Harwing-*
"*ton in Connecticut, now resident in*
"*Newhaven, Vermont, particularly in*
"*two voyages from Connecticut to the*
"*Mississippi, from December* 1773 *to*
"*October* 1780.

"*Heaven from all creatures hides the*
"*book of fate,*
"*All but the page prescrib'd their*
"*present state.*"

POPE.

"*Happy the man who sees a God em-*
"*ploy'd,*
"*In all the good and ill that chequers*
"*life.*"

COWPER.

"*Compiled from the original journal*
"*and minutes kept by Mr. Phelps, dur-*
"*ing his voyage and adventures, and*
"*revised and corrected according to his*
"*present recollection,*
"*By* ANTHONY HASWELL."

In conformity to an act of the Congress of the United States, intituled, "An act for

" the encouragement of learning by securing
" the copies of maps, charts and books to
" the authors and proprietors of such copies,
" during the time therein mentioned."

CEPHAS SMITH, Jun.
Clerk of the District of Vermont.

A true copy of record,
Atteſt,
CEPHAS SMITH, Jun. Clerk.

LIST OF

SUBSCRIBER'S NAMES,

Alphabetically arranged according to the town of their residence.

A

Arlington.

Conſtant Barney
Jonathan Baker
Robert Buck
Tyrus Hurd,
Eli Hawley
Belus Hard
Andrew Hurd
Adin Hines
Wait Hollibert
Eliſha Hawley
Joſeph Imus
James Lockwood
Simeon Littlefield
John Marble
Richard Smith
Samuel Wilmot
Philip Waſhbourn

Addison.

Wm. C. Duſingbury
Nathaniel Parkis

Adams, Maſſachu.

Chad Brown
Thomas Skinner

B

Bennington.

Thomas Abel
Robert Auſtin,
Zeph'niah Armſtrong
Roger Booth
Samuel Blackmer
Abraham Burrall
Wilber Blackmer 3.
Samuel Buck 12.
Thomas Bumford,
Wheeler Branch.
Luther Bliſs
Nathaniel Bruſh jun.
Calvin Bingham
Amos Bingham
Jonas Fay Billings
Reuben Battles
Joſeph Beeman
Thomas Crawford
Samuel Crafts
Wait Church 2.
James Clark
Horatio Clark

Simeon Chandler
P. and S. Dewey
Daniel Diver
Eldad Dewey
Uriah Edgerton
Jeſſe Field
David Fay
Jonas Fay
Reuben Foſter
Heman A. Fay
Charles Follet
John Farnſworth
Aſa Fiſk
Ethan A. Fay
Joſhua Griſwold
Ezekiel Harmon
Abraham Hatheway
Homer Hull
Joſeph Harwood
Eleazer Hawks,
John Hixon
Joſeph Hinſdill
Simeon Hatheway
William Hawks
Iſaiah Hendryx,
Aaron Hubbell
Elias Hull,
Cyrus Hill
Joſeph Houſe
John Henry
Moſes Hurd
Ebenezer Harris
Elnathan Hubbel

Jonas Harwood
Ira Haynes
John Hull
Loan Jewet
Thomas A. Keys
Welcome Luther
Pit Lawrence
Henry Lyman
Micah J. Lyman
Simeon Lyon
Jeſſe Loomis
Solomon Morſe
Ebenezer Martin
Nathan Millings
Roſwell Moſeley
Richard Mulheran
Silas Matteſon
Charles Nairn 3.
Robert Naper
Robert Nichols
James Nichols
Martin Norton
John Neuland
James Patten
Honeyman Potter
David Robinſon,
Silas Rice
Safford Robinſon
Samuel Robinſon 2d
Alden Ripley
Charles Rice
Jon'a. E. Robinſon
Benjamin Rice

Nathan Robinſon
Samuel Robinſon 2.
Syl's. Ruttenburgh
Elijah Robinſon
William Richards
Moſes Robinſon
Aaron Robinſon
Jonathan Robinſon
Iſrael Roach
Stephen Rice
Eleazer Ripley
Iſaac Rice,
Joſeph Rudd
Gaius Smith 2.
Samuel Safford
Andrew Selden
Joſeph Safford,
Samuel Scott
Wm. G. Sickels
Peter A. Storey
Phineas Scott
Daniel Spooner
Noah Smith
Iſaac Sage
Daniel H. Storey
Levi Smith
Henry Smith
Auſtin Stiles
Solomon Safford
Simeon Thayer
Jeſſe Tinney
Iſaac Tichenor
Joel Thomas jun.
Job Vaughn
Thomas Wilder
Ebez'r. Walbridge 6
Joſeph Wadſworth
Oliver Waters
Jon'a. Wentworth
Iſaac Webſter
Benjamin Webb
Andrew Wood
David Weeks
Thomas G. Wait
Job Wood.
Aldolph's Walbridge
Henry Wakelee
Samuel B. Young

Benſon.

David Brigs
Alexander Edſon
Joſiah Goodrich
Beriah Woodward

Briſtol.

Robert Dunſhee

Brandon.

Nathan Freeman
Calvin Field
Joſiah Roſſeter

Brattleborough

Royall Tyler
Benjamin Smead

Bromley.

Reuben Bigelow

Clarenden.

Edward Arnold

Nathan Buck
Luther Cotton
Benjamin Cushman
Daniel Dyer
Daniel I. French
Philip Green
Theoph. Harrington
Joseph Holden
John Hill
Nath'l, T. Moseley
Elisha Robinson
George Rounds
Lewis Walker.

Castleton.

Corn's D Board 2
Philetus Bliss
William Beach
Nathan Denniston
Auruna W. Hyde
John Morrel
David Porter
Jesse Troll
Walter Vanorder

Cambridge.

Ira Fisk

Cavendish.

John Coffin 2

Cornwall.

Asahel Field
Jacob Peck
Timothy Sampson
William Slade
Benjamin Sanford
Timothy Squier

Cambridge, N. Y.

Paul Cornel
Ebenezer Dwinnolds
Joseph Stewart
Beardsley Hendryx
Isaac Prime 2

Cornwall, Connect.

Heman Swift.

Colrain, Mass.

Rob't D. N. Taggart

D

Dorset.

Jonathan Armstrong
Jonathan Blackmer 2
Francis Barto
Aaron Barras
Thomas Barney
Benjamin Baldwin
Zachariah Boothe
James Brinton
Samuel Collins
Benjamin Deming
John Gray
Joseph Hunt
Luther Hills
Collins Hecock
Justus Holly
John Kelly
Martin Kent
John Lamfere
Peter Langdon
David M'Cullock

William Manley
Stephen Martindale
Foſter Paddock
Humphr. Richardſon
Joſhua Raymond
James I. Stewart
William Soper
Titus Sykes
John Shumway
Iſaac Sykes
Abraham Underhill
James Underhill
Iſaac Underhill
Paoli Wells

Danville.

William A. Griſwold
William Mattocks.

E

Eſſex.

Edmond Evans.

F

Fairhaven.

Iſaac Cutler 12
Nathaniel Dickinſon
David Erwin
Silas Safford.

Ferrisburgh

Gideon Hawley.

G

Guilford,

Elijah Wadſworth

Granville

Wadſworth Bull

Georgia

John Todd.

H

Hubbardton

David Rumſey
David Rumſey, jun.

Hoosick

Moſes Armſtrong
James Breeſe
Henry Breeſe
Samuel Crary
Daniel Hollenbach
Benjamin Heartt
Aaron Haynes
Jeſſe Potter
John Potter
John Scott
Ulpianus Snyder
Garret Vanhouſen jun.

Hartford, N Y

George W. Clark
Jaſon Havens

Hampton, N Y

Luther Bebins

Hardwick, Maſs.

Joſeph Whipple

I

Ira

John Bates

Nathan Collins
Solomon Collins
David Parker
Elias Prindle
George Sherman
Nathaniel Wilmot

J

Jericho

Edward Beals
Iſaac Booth
Noah Chittenden
Rhoderic Meſſenger
Nathaniel Wilſon

L

Londonderry

Rufus Thayer

M

Manchester

Abel Allis
Iſaac Burton
Eli Brownſon
Sylveſter Cheeſbrow,
Jonathan Gilbert
Gideon Ormſby
Robert Pierpoint
Chriſtopher Roberts
Andrew Richardſon
John W. Robinſon
Andr. Richardſon jun
Serenus Swift
Richard Skinner
Truman Squier
John Hopkins
Shubael Hendee
Gideon Ormſby
Samuel Strait

Middlebury

Thomas Archibald
Daniel Chipman
John Chipman
Mark Doolittle
D. H. Griſwold
Joſhua Hyde
Aaron Haſtings
Ebenezer Markham
Samuel Mattocks jun
Nathaniel Monger
Ezra Poſt
Ephraim Spaulding
John Willard

Monkton

Aſa W. Barnum
Morris Smith
Joſeph Willoughby

Middletown

John Burnham 3d.
Jonathan Brewſter

Mountholly

Aſahel Clark

Milton

Samuel Church
Thaddeus Dewey
Gideon Hoxſie
Benjamin Hill

Stephen Iriſh
Solomon Wyman

Marlborough.

Jonas Whitney

N

Newhaven.

Miles Bradley
Jeſſe Byington
Andrew S. Bennet
Daniel Beeman
Samuel Cook
William Eno
Ebenezer Field jun.
Reuben Hill
Aaron Haſkins
James Matthews
Iſaac Matthews
James Mallary
Iſſachar Norton
Calvin Nichols
Anna Nobles
Benjamin Ruſſel
Nathan Rice
Benjamin Spencer
Bernice Snow
David Smith,
Joſeph Starkweather
Calvin Thomas

New-York.

Joſeph Fay

Orwell.

Charles B. Briſtol
Luther Brown
Archibald Brewer
Samuel Griſwold
Nathaniel Griſwold
Jaſon Kinſley
David Leonard
Ruſſel Noble
Weſtley Perkins
John White
Ebenezer Wilſon
Rufus Walker

Pownal.

Jedediah Ayleſworth
James Ayleſworth
Wanton Ayleſworth
Richard Brown 2
Jared Blood
Joſeph Barber
Francis Bates jun.
James Curtis
Obadiah Dunham
Nathan Eldridge
Daniel Eldred
Caleb Gibbs
Joſhua Matterſon jun.
Lewis Marquiſſee
William Murray
John Noble
Roger Noble
William Oviatt
William Phelps
Ichabod Paddock 6
Benoni Thompſon
Gideon Towſley

Silas Watſon
Joſiah Wright
Moſes Warren
Samuel Wright
Moſes Wright
Elijah Welch
Abel Dimmock

Pawlet.

Joſiah Adkins
Caleb Allen
Daniel Church
John Cobb
Eliſha Clark
John S. Conklin
Ozias Clark
Ephraim Fitch
Nathaniel Hamblin
William Potter
Jedediah Reed
John Sergeant
Aaron Sanford jun,
John Willard jun.

Poultney.

John Broughton
Samuel Buckland
Timothy Cruttenden
Benjamin Gideons
Anna Hosford
George Kingſbury
Zuriel Lewis
James Satterlie
John Shumway

Pitsford.

Abſalom Barnum
William Baxter
Alexander Ewen
Moſes Hickock
Stephen Hickock
Martin Keeler
Amos Kellog
John Penfield

R

Rutland

Frederick Billington
Daniel Ball
Joſeph Barney
George Buck
Benjamin Blanchard
Timothy Blanchard
Ephraim Blanchard
Darius Chipman
Gerſhom Cheney
Ralph Coffin
John Cook
Amos Curtis
David Darby
James Ewen
Levi Foot
Henry Gould
Samuel Gordon
John A. Graham
L. L. D.
Nathan Burr Graham
Iſaac Green
Lombart Hart

Frederick Hill
Ara Hendrick
Oliver Hartwell
William Hartwell
Eliſha Haſkins
Samuel Lewis
William Lee
Garret Lawrence
Abner Moon
Abner Mead
Solomon Purdy
Iſſachar Reed,
Ahimaaz Reed
Abel Spencer
David Smith
Solomon Smith
Preſton Southwick
Aſa Squiers
William Sanders jun.
Joſiah Taylor
Chriſtopher Webber
Oliver Whitney
Samuel Walker
Stephen Williams
Jonathan Whipple

Reupert

Timothy Clark,
Samuel Danforth
Jeſſe Elwell
Levi Johnſon
Joſeph Leverett
Seth P. Sheldon
Aſhbel Sykes
David Sheldon
John Sheldon
Aſaph Sheldon

Shoreham

Barnabas Ames
Benjamin Bailey
Aſhbell Catlin
Hoſea Catlin
Noah Callender
Ephraim Doolittle
James Fiſk
Timothy Goodale
Ruſſel Harington
William Johnſon
James Moor
Daniel Newton
Liberty Newton
John Ormſby
William Pond
Ira Pond
Charles Rich
Silas Reynolds
Simon Robinſon
Amos Stanley
Elijah Wright

Shaftsbury

Aſa Burnham
Peleg Cole
Charles Dyer
Ebenezer Denio
Ebenezer Dwinnolds
Reuben Farnham
Jonas Galuſha

Thaddeus Harris
Nathan Harris
AmosHuntington jun
Samuel Luther
Joſhua Munro
ZerubableMatteſon 2
Schuyler Matteſon
Edward Moore
John H. Olin
Gideon Olin
Stephen Sturdevant
Sampſon Simms
Peter Wright
Nicholas Weaver
David Whitney
Stamford
Nathan Burlingame
Bethuel Finney
Sylveſter Goodale
Calvin Stowel
William Wilber
Sandgate
James B. Burch
Hull Curtis
Aaron G. Ferris
Cyrus Hurd
Samuel Thomas
Snuderland
Gilbert Bradley
Ethan Bradley
Hiram Chappell
Amos Chipman
Benjamin Lathrop
Iſaac S. Smith
Sudbury.
Othniel Field
Daniel Murray
Elijah Wentworth
Jacob Wilſon
Shewsbury.
Jonathan Chaplin
Nathan Finney
Salisbury.
Gerſhom Beach
Salem (N. Y.)
Aſa Hull
Edward Harris
Alexander M'Niſh
Charles Reed 13
Simon Smith jun.
Robert Wire
Springfield. (N. Y.)
Conſtant Brown
Schodack (N. Y.)
Abijah Smith

T

Tinmouth.
Zenas Allen
Dexter B. Brown
Eraſtus Barker
Claudius Brittle
Auguſtus Crampton
Eliſha Hambleton
Abel Kinney
Joſeph Newell
Jared Porter

Samuel Royce
Eliſha Utley
Samuel Wilford
Tunbridge.
Seth Paine
Troy.
John G. Freylie

V

Vergennes.
Gideon Spencer jun.
Enoch D Woodbridge

W

Wells.
Joſeph Bodfiſh
Samuel Broughton
Joſeph Sutton
Stephen Clark
Benjamin Cook
Samuel Culver
Andrew Clark
Jeſſe Doud
Anna Doud
David Dunning
Ruſus Glaſs
Samuel Glaſs
Anſel Godſpeed
Joſiah Goodſpeed
Socrates Hotchkiſs
Gill Mallary
Joſeph Munſon
Iſrael Merriman
Seth Potter
Jeſſe Parſons
John Potter
Joſhua Parks 3
Peter Stevens
David Ward
Whiting.
Philander Adams
Samuel Beach
Joſiah Curtis
Paul Hyde
Aaron Mack
Ebenezer Wheelock
Amos E. Walker
Woodstock.
Roſwel Barnet
Windsor.
Auguſtus Conant
Jeremiah Griſwold
Thomas B. Melville
Nahum Mower
William S. M'Leod
Simeon C. Rumreil
John A. Stephens
Samuel Severance
Westminster.
Lot Hall
Weathersfield.
David Haywood
Willsborough. N. Y.
Henry Knoulton
Abijah Perry

Nathan Perry
Williamstown.
William Towner
Thomson J. Skinner
Ezra Baker

Names omited by mistake, the papers on which they were returned, being mislaid at the time of making out the general list.

Heman Robinson, *Bennington.* Elihu Andrus, *Tinmouth*, Joseph Munson, *Hebron.* John Wyman, *Wells*, Edward C. Tabor, *Hardwick.* Joseph Owen, *Windsor, (Mass.)* John Adams *Williams' College.* Henry Dearborn, *do.* Thomas P. Baldwin, *do.* Rodolphus Dickinson, *do.* Phinehas Cooke, *do.* Frederick Carter, *Bridport.*

FINIS.

Deacidified using the Bookkeeper process
Neutralizing agent: Magnesium Oxide
Treatment Date: Dec. 2003

PreservationTechnologies

A WORLD LEADER IN PAPER PRESERVATION
111 Thomson Park Drive
Cranberry Township, PA 16066
(724) 779-2111